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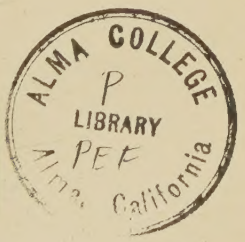
Palestine Exploration Quarterly

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

Patron—THE KING.

Quarterly Statement

FOR 1921.



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THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The first number of the *Quarterly Statement* for the New Year contains several features of interest to which the attention of readers is drawn. The illustrated report of the Fund's Excavation of Askalon presents a very satisfactory account of what Dr. Garstang has been able to accomplish in a relatively short time. A great deal of initial labour is always necessary before the surface accumulation can be cleared away, and he was able to uncover, at an early stage, two architectural statues already known to exist in Turkish times—namely, a Tyché (or Fortune) and an imposing figure of Victory. Byzantine and Crusaders' churches represent the later buildings of religious importance; and specimens unearthed of local pottery of every period, from Post-Neolithic to Roman times, will be a clue for the dating of otherwise undateable finds. Of special interest is a tank which apparently represents the "Well of Peace," known to Antoninus Martyr in the sixth century A.D., and the discovery of a potsherd representing a man fishing raises the question whether the Peace Pool is not really the site of a far older fish-pond and sanctuary of Derceto, or Atargatis. In view of the inveterate conservatism and continuity of tradition in the East, this possibility cannot be ignored. Dr. Garstang also reports the discovery of remains of a giant statue in marble; the foot itself, from heel to toe, measured a little over a yard. Since this report was received further discoveries have been made, and, although operations have been hindered for a short time by the advent of the rainy season, they will be resumed at the earliest opportunity, and, now that so much has been opened out, will be more extensive. Meanwhile the excavation of Askalon has revealed remains of almost all periods, a general preliminary idea has been gained of the potentialities of the site, trial trenches have unearthed strata of first historical importance, and we shall look forward with confidence to the fruits of further excavation. Needless to say, the

work is a heavy drain upon the Fund's resources, especially owing to the increased cost of labour and material in Palestine; and special subscriptions are invited. A list of those who have already responded is given on p. 8.

This number also contains an illustrated account of a seal of the late or neo-Babylonian period (by Mr. Pilcher), and a discussion of a very interesting inscription found at Jerusalem, and referring to a synagogue of the Herodian age. To this discussion (by Dr. Marmorstein) is prefixed a brief summary of the account of the inscription by the eminent French archaeologist, Prof. Clermont-Ganneau. Dr. Masterman supplements the article by the Rev. Prof. Gray in the October *Quarterly Statement* on the crocodile in Palestine, and adduces important new evidence for its presence. In addition to Reviews and a note by the American Professor, the Rev. John P. Peters, on the sites of Gaza and Ashdod, the special feature of this issue is a long and illustrated discussion by Mr. F. W. Read of what is known as the Phaestos Disk. This is a circular clay tablet found on the south coast of Crete in 1908, and in surroundings that may be dated roughly about 1600 B.C. It is covered on both sides with signs which have hitherto eluded decipherment. They were investigated by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister in his book on *The Philistines*, and have been the subject of many a conflicting interpretation. Mr. Read submits these to a thorough criticism, and then tentatively proposes his own solution—is this disk the oldest piece of music in the world? Whatever may be thought of his solution, many readers will be glad to have what is virtually an edition of the disk, in handy form, with tables of the signs, and with a careful discussion of what other scholars have thought of its contents. For this alone, quite apart from the interesting conjecture of Mr. Read, the attention of readers may be drawn to the many indications that the archaeology of the "Bible Lands" is active, and provides a field for students and subscribers alike.

The Committee of the P.E.F. are hoping to organise lectures on the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. For this purpose it is proposed to form a panel of lecturers. All those who are willing to make arrangements for lectures, or who would like to join the panel of lecturers, are requested to communicate with the Honorary Secretary.

Owing to the special demands upon our space, we are obliged to hold over several Reviews, among them the first "Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem," edited by Prof. C. C. Torrey. It contains a selection of papers which have for some time been awaiting publication. These are: (1) "A Phoenician Necropolis at Sidon," by Prof. Torrey (with 4 plates); (2) "The Walls of Jerusalem," by the late Prof. Mitchell (71 plates); (3) "Survivals of Primitive Religion in Modern Palestine," by Prof. Paton; and (4) "Gleanings in Archaeology and Epigraphy," by Prof. W. J. Moulton (2 plates). Mr. Massey's *The Desert Campaign*, and *Allenby's Final Triumph* (Constable, London), are also held over for review.

M. R. Weill (*Revue des Études Juives*, 1919) has written an account of his excavations in search of the Royal Tombs in Jerusalem. It is summarised in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1920, p. 367.

The Cairo correspondent of *The Times* (December 4), writing on November 24, states that "An interesting discovery was made in the Garden of Gethsemane, at the foot of the Mount of Olives. The garden is in the hands of the Franciscans, who in the course of digging the foundations for a new chapel came across the remains of a medieval church, and, later on, of a fourth-century church, of which it has been possible to make out the whole of the original design, while added interest has been afforded by the discovery of some of the original mosaic pavements. As the foundations of this fourth-century church extended beyond the garden, interests of other communities came into question, but the Department of Antiquities has been able satisfactorily to settle whatever difficulties might have arisen, and the remains will be properly conserved."

Later, a Liverpool correspondent of *The Times* (Dec. 20) gives further details of this church. It is "one of the oldest monuments of Christianity in Palestine," and is built on a rather different axis from the later church. "The whole of the outside wall can be traced, together with the two rows of columns which supported the aisles, and three apses, the central one being the largest. Here and there are well-preserved though small remains of the original

mosaic floor. The Franciscans have undertaken to preserve these remains in such a way that they will be permanently visible: even though a new church be built, it will be designed to enclose the old church, and steps will be taken to distinguish the outline of the ancient structure and to preserve the pavement and the bases of columns in a way that is quite satisfactory. The central apse of this building reaches out just beyond the modern limits of the garden towards the rocks which are usually associated with the Agony of Christ. It has been arranged that the work shall be completed by the Board of Antiquities on behalf of the Government. Some architectural fragments, including columns with capitals in Corinthian style, came to light in the course of the excavation."

The same source states that "one of the first acts of the new Government under Sir Herbert Samuel was to organise a Department of Antiquities, the principal function of which is the protection of all the historical sites and monuments in Palestine, and at the same time to encourage learned societies to make scientific excavations The historical monuments of Palestine are not merely interesting from the antiquarian point of view, but have a human and religious interest for the great bulk of humanity. Accordingly, an international board has been established to advise the Director of Antiquities on matters of common interest to the different local societies and schools of foreign Powers engaged in archaeological research."

The Liverpool correspondent quoted above also states that a young and vigorous Jewish Archaeological Society is making a preliminary examination of various sites of interest in Jewish history, notably Artuf, Caesarea, and Tiberias. "The latter is proving to be of particular interest, and attention was directed to it early after the British occupation, numerous traces of ancient buildings of the period of Talmud, just south of the town, being brought to light by roadmakers and engineers in the course of their duties. Overlooking the northern shore of the Sea of Gallilee are the very remarkable and interesting remains of an early Jewish synagogue. It is to be hoped that on the completion of the excavation steps will be taken and the means forthcoming to restore this ancient building, of which a great portion of the masonry is lying about, apparently as the result of some earthquake. Should it be possible scientifically to reconstruct the building it will prove a unique addition to the wonders of Palestine."

Meanwhile, two American Universities are reported to be proposing to make a complete examination of Megiddo (already partly excavated by Dr. Schumacher) and Beisan or Beth-shean; and the Dominicans are completing the excavation of the remains of the old Jewish synagogue at 'Ain Dūk, near Jericho.

We learn that the fine ruins of the great fortress at Athlit between Haifa and Jaffa, one of the most imposing of the Crusaders' structures, have attracted the attention of the Government of Palestine, which it is hoped may undertake to preserve it and open it up.

We learn that "an Archaeological museum is to be built in Jerusalem, according to plans announced by the Hebrew Palestine Exploration and Archaeological Society of Jerusalem, organised before the war to preserve the historical places of Palestine and explore the country. . . . . The increased activities in archaeological research in the Holy Land are a part of the stimulus given to the revival of all Hebrew culture through the establishment of the University of Jerusalem, which Zionist leaders plan as the world-centre for Hebrew learning."

A writer in *The Zionist Review* (October number) discusses the scheme for replanning Jerusalem. Prof. Geddes in an interview stated that the city was being surveyed and its contours determined. "A remeasurement of the position of the [Hebrew] University site brings out a discrepancy of no less than 100 metres from that given on the present general rough plan of the city and environs." As regards the "modern Oriental Jewish style," the writer comments on the mistakes that have been made through lack of plan. "One of these is the imitation in Palestine of Europe and America. The modern houses built in Jerusalem are a failure, the sloped roofs with their red tiles a mistake. That is where the new Jewish quarters are so disappointing. In Palestine you want flat roofs or small domes. It is more suitable to local conditions. The sloped roof robs you of the best room in the house—the roof. It drives you back to the cave from which civilisation is only now struggling to emerge. The Arab villages approach more the requirements of climatic conditions. They are more in line with local tradition. They are reminiscent of the style which

inspired the Christians to promote the Gothic art. The cloisters are derived from what has been rediscovered during the Crusades in the East. The Spaniards stuck to that style. You have some of the finest houses in Spain. The plan for the Hebrew University, Geddes has been told, suggests an Arab village. Well, it should suggest such architecture, but with the beauty of old Jerusalem with which it seeks to be in keeping. Of course that does not prevent you from adopting modern conditions too. And then, the great central dome based on the hexagon, the Magen David, gives a form of construction distinctly Jewish, all previous domes being an octagon or a square. The problem is, in short, to evolve a style distinctly Jewish and thus no longer Arab, but still Oriental and not Western."

While it is impossible to widen the streets in the old city, much can be done by clearing up the dirt. "Take the rubbish and dirt, and fertilise the terraces on the slopes of the Mount of Olives. To burn good manure among starving olive trees is like burning bread in the presence of the hungry. Remove the enormous masses of rubbish and ruin. Lay bare the old city of David like Pompey. It is a project for all archaeologists. Use the rubbish to fertilise the new vegetable gardens further down the valley. Use the twenty, thirty, sometimes forty or fifty feet of rubbish all round. The water will then run down, and the women won't have to carry the water from Silwan; the present Arab gardeners will be better off than before."

"The ancient magnificence of the Jaffa Gate should be kept, but the modern squalor removed. The clock tower is the most dreadful piece of architecture in existence, and the Russian tower on the Mount of Olives and that of the German Hospice (Government House) lacerate the landscape and sky line. Prof. Geddes 'wants the hill east of the railway station, now occupied by a cistern and manure heap, planted as a little park, where you might have a little Hail and Farewell (*Ave et Vale*) Cloister for travellers of all religions arriving in a devotional mood. He wants to preserve the pools—the Birket al Sultan and other birkets, but not for ornamental purposes only. He wants them useful as well—he wants to stock them with fish, to keep them fresh and mosquito-free.'"

An official announcement states that English, Arabic and Hebrew are the official languages in which all Government ordinances, etc., will be published, all railway and road notices printed, and all legal proceedings conducted. Telegrams if in Hebrew must be written in Latin characters. "It is not at present practicable for the Post Office to transmit telegrams in Hebrew characters." It is interesting to notice that the great rival of Hebrew is not Arabic, nor is it even English, it is Yiddish. "New York and London are evidence of the fact that Yiddish dies hard, if it dies at all," and many of the new immigrants will be recruited from Eastern Europe where Yiddish is all powerful.

The Committee would be very glad if subscribers would be disposed to present to the Fund sets or volumes of the *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine* and also of the *Quarterly Statement.*

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Committee have brought out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in two large sheets, and is, primarily, a traveller's map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible

to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete map is 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen to fold, 15*s.* 6*d.* Subscriber's price, 6*s.* unmounted and 13*s.* mounted; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 9–10.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Members are reminded that subscriptions are payable in advance and are now due for 1921.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special donations towards the Askalon excavations:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The Schweich Fund	200	0	0
Dr. A. Cowley	20	0	0
James Melrose, Esq.	20	0	0
Williamson Lamplough, Esq.	10	0	0
Walter Morrison, Esq.	10	0	0
F. W. Percival, Esq.	10	0	0
J. R. Barlow, Esq.	5	0	0
Frank H. Cook, Esq.	5	0	0
Hon. Everard Feilding	5	0	0
W. Holdsworth Lunn, Esq.	3	3	0
Rev. Dr. Ewing	2	2	0
Sir Frederick Kenyon	2	2	0

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually.

A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1920 will be published in the Annual Report, to be issued with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 7*s.* 6*d.*, by post 8*s.*

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

The Desert Campaign and *Allenby's Final Triumph*, by T. W. Massey. From the publishers, Constable, London.

The Near East: a Weekly Review of the Politics and Commerce of Palestine, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Egypt, etc.

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Oct. : The Historical Value of Greek Papyri, by H. I. Bell ; What is the Ka ? by N. W. Thomas ; Menes and Naram-Sin, by Dr. Albright, Prof. Langdon, and Prof. Sayce.

The Annual of the British School at Athens, XXIII, 1918–1919: Prehistoric mounds in the Caucasus and Turkestan, by S. Casson.

Bible Lands: Quarterly Paper of the Jerusalem and the East Mission, Oct., 1920: The Noble Sanctuary, Jerusalem, by Ernest Richmond; Report of the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, Oct.

Guild Text-Books: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, by Prof. W. B. Stevenson (A. & C. Black, 1*s*.).

Palestine, Sept. 25: Great Britain and Transjordania. Oct. 9; Secret Sects; the Religion of the Druzes; Cultivation of Cereals. Nov. 13; Rivers and ponds in Palestine.

The Zionist Review.

The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, I, 1919–20; ed. by C. C. Torrey. See p. 3.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Oct., 1920: Cinnamon, cassia and Somaliland, by W. H. Schoff; the Tower of Babel, by E. G. H. Kraeling.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, Oct., 1920.

Art and Archaeology, Oct.: An early English traveller in Greece, by W. H. Appleton.

The Homiletic Review.

American Journal of Archaeology.

Biblical World.

The Hebrew Christian Quarterly.

Journal Asiatique, April–June: Découverte à Jérusalem d'une synagogue de l'époque Hérodienne (reprint from "Syria," 1920), by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau.

Revue Biblique, Oct.: The sepulchre of the Patriarchs according to the Bible, by R. P. L.-H. Vincent; Barcocheba *ὁ μονογενής*, by M. Clermont-Ganneau; the church of Gethsemane, a Nabatean fragment in the Monastery of the Dormition; inauguration of the English Archaeological Institute at Jerusalem, by R. P. L.-H. Vincent; the metaphorical use of the names of parts of the body in Hebrew and Akkadian, by R. P. Dhorme.

Al-Mashrik, *Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle*, Nov.: The first voyage of the Emir Beshīr in Egypt, by Sheikh Salim Dahdah; Christianity in Egypt before Islam, by P.-L. Cheikho, S.J.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, 1920, May–July: The Greeks in the Holy Places, etc.

See also pp. 55–59.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contribution to the Library :—

From the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge :—

The Pilgrim in Jerusalem, By the Rev. O. H. Parry, M.A.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE FUND'S EXCAVATION OF ASKALON.

Dr. Garstang reports that preliminary arrangements were begun in the latter part of August for the P.E.F. Excavation of Askalon. The camp was pitched in the field containing the "Roman Foundations," and the workmen were employed in cleaning the paths and in collecting the scattered capitals or pieces of sculpture scattered about on the surface. Work was commenced at a statue of Fortune (Tyché), at or near which another statue was known to be buried, and arrangements were made for unearthing it. It proved to be a fine architectural statue of a Victory (Niké), poised on a globe which is upheld by Atlas.

An account of Askalon, with a number of illustrations, appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, October 9.

On September 9th, His Excellency, the High Commissioner, arrived at the camp, and on the 10th, after inspecting the ruins, he performed the opening ceremony of excavation by cutting the first sod.

In a later report (October 23rd) Dr. Garstang states that the work is being supervised by Mr. Quibell, Mr. Pythian-Adams, the Director's Assistant, and Dr. Garstang himself; a student of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem is also present. An investigation was made of a Byzantine church, presumably of the eighth century, with fragments of Greek and Cufic inscriptions. To the south-east are remains of a Crusaders' church, and on the sea-shore to the west, methodical cuttings have been made in order to ascertain the possibilities and to establish the sequence of the local pottery: He says—

"Our investigation around the Byzantine church has disengaged that building from the higher ground to the N.W., but, except in disclosing the church walls, they have not yielded up anything other than late Byzantine and mediaeval remains, as was indeed to be anticipated. The church is, I suppose, of the seventh century. There is a single apse on the east face, the three enclosing walls of which are straight; the entrance appears to be opposite the apse in the western wall. The inside is pilastered and the roof was

Palestine Exploration Fund. *Plate I.*

The Excavation of Askalon. The Peace Pool.

clearly domed; columns, corresponding to the pilasters, supporting the roof in the interior. We have not proceeded far inside: it is full of debris, and though the walls stand high the roof has fallen. The further excavation of this church requires special consideration. A few small fragments of inscriptions, Greek and Cufic, and numerous sherds of Byzantine and mediaeval period, have been dug up. Conspicuous among these fragments are specimens of early faience.

A trench, parallel with the church, a short way to the north, has disclosed some stout foundations, which may prove to be of Hellenistic times. Preliminary trenching in field No. 5,[1] where some of the debris has been piled, has already yielded numerous fragments of Greek and local pottery of this period. A further exploration in field No. 24,[1] showed deep layers above and including the Roman levels; this terrace could only be properly explored by driving in from the southern scarp, a piece of work which can be undertaken only after the church is finished.

In the field, south-east of the Byzantine church, are remains of a Crusaders' church. Beyond this, again, we have located the Bîr Ibrahîm, and have recovered from its neighbourhood pieces of sculpture, which, coupled with local tradition, invite a thorough examination of this spot.

On the seashore, west of the Byzantine church, we have made two methodical cuttings with a view to ascertaining the possibilities of attack from that side, and also to establishing a sequence of the local pottery. The results are being studied in the light of the more complete and more fruitful sections in the northern scarp.

In the northern scarp of the central mound we have completed a first section of the face, done methodically in forty-five "steps," descending 7 metres below the Roman level; 9·30 metres below the upper surface of the scarp and 2·20 metres below the lower surface.

The results have been of the highest interest and importance. We have secured specimens of the local ceramics of every period from post-Neolithic up to Roman, determined their relative positions; and, thanks to clear traces of Greek and Hellenistic levels, have been able to assign approximately certain painted wares (including one vase fairly complete) to pre-Hellenistic and Philistine periods;

[1] The numbers refer to the plan sent by Dr. Garstang, which, together with other photographs not reproduced in this issue, can be seen at the Office of the Fund. A plan of the excavations will be given at a later stage.

while other lower levels, also fertile in painted fabrics, seem to indicate the Canaanitish civilisation corresponding to the XVIIIth dynasty and earlier. The fragments selected from these stratifications have been brought to Jerusalem and arranged in the school for mature study; we are assured already of valuable criteria for controlling the results of all further deep excavations, and have, as is clearly located, strata of first historical importance. A brick house on stone foundations in this cutting may well be of Philistine date and origin.

No trace has been found of "Neolithic" remains, though our sections both here and on the shore have penetrated into the sea sand and to the level of the shore.

The ramparts have been examined here and there for completeness of the fresh survey which I have made. The construction and other indications suggest to me a late Roman foundation for the existing stone ramparts. But this work overlies hard earth of made character, which suggests another and earlier origin, though much outside the confines of the two mounds which the walls enclose.

The most active centre of work, while pursuing these necessary investigations, has been the field (No. 61), in which the "Tyché" statue was lying uncovered, and the "Victory" was unearthed. Here, little by little, and with as much precaution as possible, we have been able to lay bare, at considerable depth, the traces of a temple or other public building in the best Roman style, constructed entirely (columns, entablature, floors, walls and all) in Greek and Italian marble; vast in its conception and characteristic in its execution. The order is Corinthian, the capitals and proportions are after the models of the Pantheon, with some details in the tracing of the acanthus and the position of the volutes which betray Greek influences. The diameter of the column-drums, which are of Greek marble, is about 75 cms. at their lower ends, or 85 with the bottom moulding. The top of the base proper measures 90 cms. Intercolumniation presumed at present to be 4 diameters. The mouldings of the base are the characteristic torus-scotia-torus with fillets between. The pedestals introduce other motives. The height of the capitals is about 95 cms. The building is connected structurally with a round tank, which appears outside the middle of its southern façade. On one side of the tank the Victory lies prone upon its side, having fallen towards the main building; on the other side a

[*To face p.* 14.

THE EXCAVATION OF ASKALON. THE STATUE OF PEACE.

[*To face page* 14.

THE EXCAVATION OF ASKALON. THE PEACE POOL STATUE.

newly-found statue lies upon its back, having fallen in the other direction. Both statues are of Caryatid architectural character, and have been partly bedded into a wall or antae. The wall upon which these statues stood encloses an ambulatory around the southern end of the main structure. The newly-found statue holds a palm branch, and in the left hand held possibly a wreath. It seems unlikely that there would be two statues of Victory differing in emblem, and the latter may be taken to represent Peace. The base and plinth have in this case been sawn off and are defaced.

The tank is surrounded by three circular concentric walls, all centred upon it, and forming generally half circles abutting on the southern end of the columned building. The outer wall is well preserved, and is traced into and through the adjoining field (No. 67) under the modern road, following always the same curve, and in this part exedrae and other features, including the marble floor of an upper terrace, are well indicated. The whole was lined with Carrara marble. These curving walls separated in fact two ambulatories, the outer one higher than the inner, while in the middle at a lower level again was the tank, surrounded by small columns which carried a canopy above a well-laid floor of marble tiles in two colours. The description of the Peace-Pool of Antoninus Martyr (560–570 A.D.): "There is a well of peace (Puteus Pacis) made after the fashion of a theatre (or, as one reading runs, 'built on the site of a theatre'), in which one descends by steps into the water . . . ," leaps to the mind. The Medeba Mosaic Map also gives a distinct suggestion of a rounded columnar structure abutting upon a large columned court. We cannot doubt that we are in the presence of a building which, in Byzantine times, was a striking feature of Askalon. It also seems to be an historical feature, for deep down, about twelve to sixteen feet below the surface, we are now finding the outline and retaining walls of the building that preceded it. The tank seems to have been much larger and the structure more solid, while tending to the same general outline and position. Fragments of votive statues in white marble and the torso of one such, have come to light, while a curious and perhaps significant discovery is that of a potsherd decorated in relief with the picture of a man fishing with a rod, with two fish caught upon the line. Remembering that the Peace-Pool is in the southern part of the site, connected with what seems to have been the chief public building, presumably the "Tycheion," possibly a great forum of the city, the question

spontaneously arises whether we are not really on the site of the far older fish pond and sanctuary of Derceto.

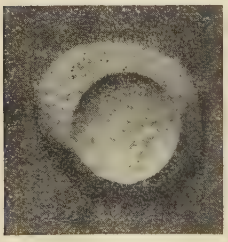
The work is proceeding, and at the time of writing the sandalled foot and an arm of a giant statue in marble have just come to light amid the debris of a marble shrine, quite near the statue of "Tyché," of Isis type, that first attracted us to this field. The foot of this statue measures 98 cms., or almost a metre from heel to toe, and the workmanship is of high standard.

NEO-BABYLONIAN SIGNET WITH PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTION.

By E. J. Pilcher.

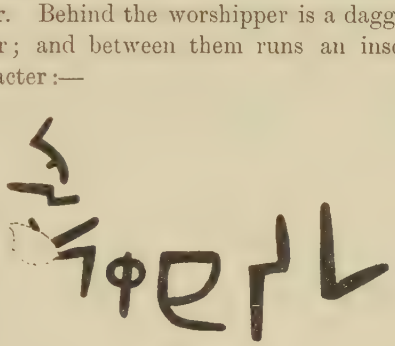
Mr. Herbert Clark, of Jerusalem, has recently acquired an interesting little relic, found in Philistia, which typifies in itself the curious welter of nationalities that made up the Achæmenian Empire. It is a cone-shaped seal of the class usually recognised as belonging to the *Persian* period. It has a legible inscription in *Phœnician* characters which, when deciphered, reveals a *Babylonian* name. It was discovered in the south of Palestine, and was probably the property of some official; for the early Persians were mere soldiers, and they were compelled to employ members of the subject populations for administrative work.

A fellah, working his field near the town of Gaza, turned up some pebbles, one of which he recognised as an engraved stone. He took it with him to Jerusalem on the first opportunity, and sold it to Mr. Clark for forty piastres. It is a bluish-white chalcedony, shaped as a cone of a circular section, with rounded top and bottom. It is about an inch long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. Near the top it is pierced with a hole for suspension. The base of the cone is convex, and is engraved with a scene of the ordinary devotional character. The accompanying illustration is taken from an impression. On the left is a figure, apparently a lunar deity, in the guise of a bearded man rising out of a crescent moon. On



(Reversed.)
Neo-Babylonian Signet.

his head is a cylindrical tiara, surmounted with a small crescent. Opposite the Moon-god stands a worshipper, holding up his hands in adoration, and attired in a long robe, reaching to his feet; with a low, round, cap upon his head. At the back of the man in the moon is a device that at first sight looks like a cuneiform sign; but is really an altar. Behind the worshipper is a dagger. Above the figures is a star; and between them runs an inscription in the Phœnician character:—



לנבקגלני

li-Nabu-ḳigalni

"of Nabu-ḳigalni."

Ḳigallu, or *Kigallu*, is a Sumerian loan-word of frequent use in Babylonian with the signification of the foundation of a building. Consequently, the name upon the signet is to be interpreted as "Nebo is our foundation."

Although *Nabu-ḳigalni* is quite a legitimate formation, it does not seem to have been met with previously; and no theophoric proper name, compounded with *kigallu* is recorded by Knut. L. Tallqvist in his "Neu-Babylonisches Namenbuch" (Helsingfors 1906). Instead of the archaic Sumerian *ḳigallu*, the Babylonians usually preferred the customary Semitic word *iṣḍu* (Hebr. יסד). Thus, *Shamaṣh-iṣḍia* = "the Sun-god is my foundation." Or the elements might be inverted, *Iṣḍi-Nabu* = "My foundation is Nebo." In fact, any member of the Babylonian pantheon might be declared to be his worshipper's foundation, for we have *Iṣḍi-Addu*, *Iṣḍi-Assur*, *Iṣḍi-Ishtar*, *Iṣḍi-Nusku*, *Iṣḍi-Sin*, &c., &c. Or a longer sentence might be employed, such as *Nabu-iṣḍi-kin* = "Nebo is my firm foundation."

The Babylonians, being an architectural people, they not only compared their deities to a foundation, but also to a wall; as

Bel-duri = "Bel is my wall"; *Ishtar-duri* = "Ishtar is my wall"; *Nabu-dur-enshi* = "Nebo is the wall of the weak"; *Nabu-dur-sirum* = "Nebo is a lofty wall"; *Nabu-dur-ali-shu* = "Nebo is the wall of his city"; *Assur-dur-pani-ia* = "Assur is a wall before me," &c.

It would therefore appear that the owner of Mr. Clark's signet belonged to the learned class; and thus his name was not compounded with the ordinary and popular *ishdu*, but with the literary and Sumerian equivalent *kigallu*. The vulgar Babylonian would have made made it *Nabu-ishdini*; but this man exhibited his father's erudition by the adoption of the form *Nabu-kigalni*. On the other hand, *Kigallu* is one of the names of Hades, and would therefore be an ill-omened word. The Babylonian who heard it, would recognise that not only did *Kigallu* mean an ordinary foundation: it was also the foundation of the earth, where the souls of the departed were congregated. That was why *ishdu* was preferred in the customary nomenclature.

A more serious problem is presented by the inscription itself. This is distinctly in the Phœnician character; and for the most part comparable with the lettering on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, though the ק is of a much more archaic type. The most striking peculiarity is that all the characters except the first one are reversed! The ק and the ב are symmetrical in outline, so that they are not affected. The initial ל is turned in the right direction; but the medial one, like the others, faces backwards. Furthermore, the letters themselves vary in size, and are crowded clumsily together. Every apprentice at gem-engraving speedily learns the imperative necessity of turning his copy, so that the impression may read properly; but in the present instance the workman commenced correctly with the first character, and then blundered with all the others! This may very well raise suspicions as to the genuineness of the signet: or, at any rate, of the inscription. Yet it is obvious that the engraver was no beginner at his craft. The figures on the signet are well and neatly executed; and the details of the dresses show careful and intelligent finish. In fact, the whole of the design reveals taste and skill. Moreover, it is also evident that the letters themselves have been cut with a firm hand, by a workman who had full command of his tools. Consequently, the faults of the inscription cannot be due to the unskilfulness of the artist; but simply because the character was unfamiliar to him; and he was so absorbed in following the strange outlines before

him, that he omitted to reverse them in his work. This, of course, implies that the engraver could not read Phœnician; and would tend to suggest that the owner of the signet had it executed in Babylon; and, in view of his pending appointment on the Mediterranean coast, he insisted on the inscription being in Phœnician letters, although he knew that character to be quite unknown to the gem-engraver—and it may have been unfamiliar to himself.

The cone is in fairly good preservation. It is bruised and flaked in one or two places; but these do not affect the reading. Considering all things, it may very well be assigned to the reign of Darius Hystaspes, 522–486 B.C.

CROCODILES IN PALESTINE.[1]

By E. W. G. Masterman.

The evidence for "Crocodiles in Palestine" largely rests upon two particular crocodiles. With regard to the one which the late Canon Tristram obtained from the late Rev. John Zeller, of the C.M.S., in Nazareth, I think these few lines from Mrs. Zeller, who was there at the time, may be valuable:—

"First, I must say that we *never* heard of crocodiles in the "Kishon, and it must have been a fancy of Mr. Macgregor's, and "we told him so at the time.

"But we had often heard of crocodiles in the Nahr ez-Zerka, "so that when one day a Nazareth man, who had been in that "neighbourhood, told us that a crocodile had been killed there, and "was still lying there, Mr. Zeller said that he would give a good "backshesh if they brought it. The head and skeleton (backbone) "and the tail were intact, but the legs were gone. From lying in "the sun some days it was almost dried up; but still, it had to be "kept at a distance for some time. Mr. Zeller at once said that "Canon Tristram (our friend) must have the head, and it was "carefully cut off, and, as we were almost starting for Europe, we "took it there ourselves, and Mr. Zeller was present at the meeting "when it was exhibited. We had no reason to doubt where the "animal came from. Why should people have brought it from a

[1] See *Q.S.*, 1920, pp. 167–176.

"distance to a small place like Nazareth? About the same time "a man from Umm el-Fahum, in the south end of Carmel, brought "us several crocodile eggs, also from the Nahr ez-Zerka. They "were not oval or smooth like ostrich eggs, but looked like white "stones, and contained a yellowish glue-like mass. I do not "remember what we did with the eggs. Remember, this was "fifty-one years ago!"

I may add that the late Rev. John Zeller told me all this in greater detail many years ago. He hoped at first to preserve the skin and body, but the smell became so overpowering, that he had to dispose of all but the head. Probably the loss of the feet was due to jackals or hyænas or dogs; the wonder was that so much remained under the circumstances.

As regards crocodiles' eggs being found, I heard of this several times when I was in Galilee.

The most important communication on the subject is contained in a letter written to us by Mr. Herbert Clark of Jerusalem, giving the details of the purchase at Haifa by himself and Mr. Howard of Jerusalem of the crocodile skin which the latter presented to the Palestine Exploration Fund and is now in our Museum.

When these two gentlemen, in May, 1893, were walking through Haifa one morning they found at the door of the Latin Monastery "a *fellah* talking to the servant of the monastery and on the ground between them lay a crocodile . . . . The *fellah* was trying to sell it to one of the monks to whom he had sold two eggs from the same crocodile the afternoon before." Mr. Clark not only saw these eggs but bought them from the monk. "The eggs were in the shape of a Cambridge sausage, blunt at both ends, of a bluish-white-china shell with marks on it like the marking on a tanned pig-skin." The eggs were subsequently given to Mr. Selah Merrell, the U.S.A. consul, and were sold with his large collection of curiosities to Harvard College. When questioned about how he got the crocodile the *fellah* said: "At this time of year, after the rains have stopped and the first heat of summer comes on, the females come out of the *burkies* or pools—of which he declared that two were known to be inhabited by these creatures—to lay their eggs in the sands, where they are left to hatch in the sun. Two of his friends had seen the tracks in the sand around the pool during the day, and he had joined them to watch for any which might appear during the early half of the moon-light night. They had not waited long after moon-light before

this one came out of the pool and, proceeding some twenty yards or so away from the water, began to lay her eggs. They then quietly intercepted her on the way back to the pool and shot and clubbed her to death. They then took the body home and ate the flesh." Mr. Clark then asked him if he believed there were more crocodiles in the pools or the river. He replied "that there were, but they were so timid that they were seldom seen. Who, indeed, has the patience to wait and watch for them? It is when they lay their eggs they may be caught. He had not killed any before this one, but some of his relatives had killed one the year before and eaten it."

Mr. Howard bought the skin, which was fresh and in good condition, for 20 francs, and in the Hotel he and Mr. Clark cleaned it up, salted and dried it. As Mr. Howard was just then departing for England he brought it with him and presented it to the Palestine Exploration Fund "with the condition that it should be mounted and put in the Fund's Museum with his name attached as the person who presented it." Mr. Clark adds that he has never heard of another being obtained or having been killed on the Nahr ez-Zerka.

With regard to the Rev. W. M. Christie, who is mentioned as having seen a crocodile in the Kishon in 1894, I have, in answer to a letter of enquiry, received the following statement from him:—

"The facts are these. I was riding at a gallop along the sands "coming towards Haifa from the Akka side: as I neared the "Kishon, I gradually pulled up, and was still going at a trot about "thirty to forty yards north of where the river enters the sea. "From a foot or so outside the water's edge, a something, which I "should say was about five feet long, dashed into the sea and "disappeared. I remember the words I uttered to myself. They "were these: 'Well, if I were certain that crocodiles could live in "sea water, I could say that was a crocodile.' I went into Haifa, "and after getting settled in Krafft's Hotel, went over to see "Schumacher. I told him of the incident, and he said it might very "well be a crocodile, and spoke of reports such as have now been "gathered together and reported in the *Spectator* and the *Quarterly* "*Statement*. You can well imagine my reasons for indefiniteness. "I was not on the outlook for anything on the sand. The horse "was claiming my attention, and I was looking forward for the "mouth of the river, which, as you know, used to form for itself a "new mouth on every return of the rain, and had generally to be

"crossed by going out into the sea in a semicircle over the bar "formed. My experience requires confirmation, and I do not think "it ought to be taken too hastily to confirm some other doubtful "case. Still, even now, I do not know what else could dash into "the sea as it did."

It will be seen, therefore, that Mr. Christie's evidence is no more conclusive than that of Rob Roy MacGregor, and that crocodiles have ever existed north of Carmel is "not proven." With regard to the Nahr ez-Zerka, I think there can be no doubt. I may say that Prof. Day of the Beirut American College, probably the greatest living authority now on the fauna of Palestine, agrees with me in this.

While hoping that fresh evidence may be obtained of the existence of crocodiles in the "Crocodile River," I sincerely hope it will not be at the cost of the final extermination of creatures that have managed to survive so many centuries in such a small area. Rather, if their existence were proved, would I see the marshes around the Birket Timsâh carefully protected.

THE SYNAGOGUE OF THEODOTOS AT JERUSALEM.

In the *Revue Politique et Littéraire, Revue Bleue*, for August 21, 1920, Prof. Clermont-Ganneau describes and discusses a synagogue of the Herodian period discovered at Jerusalem in the course of some excavations on Mount Ophel shortly before the outbreak of war in 1914. Here was discovered a large limestone block inscribed with a Greek inscription in characters exactly similar to those on the stele in the Temple of Herod (forbidding access to the Gentiles), discovered many years ago by M. Clermont-Ganneau himself. "Palaeographically speaking, the two inscriptions are assuredly contemporary." His text and translation are as follows:—

Θ[ε]όδοτος Οὐεττήν[ο]υ, ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀ[ρ]χισυνάγωγος, υἱὸ[ς ἀ]ρχισυν[αγώ]γ[ο]υ, υἱωνὸς ἀρχισυν[α]γώγου, [ᾠκ]οδ[ό]μησε τὴν συναγωγ[ὴ]ν εἰς ἀν[άγν]ωσ[ιν] νόμου καὶ εἰ[ς] [δ]ιδαχ[ὴ]ν ἐντολῶν, κα[ὶ] τ[ὸ]ν ξενῶνα, κα[ὶ τὰ] δώματα, καὶ τὰ χρησ[τ]ήρια τῶν ὑδά[τ]ων, εἰς [κ]ατάλυμα τοῖς [χ]ρήζουσιν ἀπὸ τ[ῆ]ς ξ[ένη]ς ἣν ἐθεμελ[ίω]σαν οἱ πατέρες [αὐ]τοῦ κα[ὶ] οἱ πρεσ[βύ]τερο[ι] καὶ Σιμων[ί]δης.

"Theodotos, son of Vettenos, priest and chief of the synagogue, son of the chief of the synagogue, grandson of the chief of the synagogue, built this synagogue for the reading of the Law and for the teaching of the Commandments, and also this hostel with its chambers and its water-fittings (*aménagements d'eaux*), for the need of those who, coming from outside, have lodged there; (an establishment) founded (of old) by his fathers and by the elders and SIMONIDES."

The building, he reports, appears to have been both a synagogue and a hostel, and stands immediately above Hezekiah's great subterranean aqueduct made to convey the waters of Siloam. The aims of the synagogue, and even the terms, are in harmony with the evidence of the New Testament, and although Theodotos has a Greek name, we can suspect that it answers to a Hebrew name—Nathaniel, Jonathan, or Nathan. The place evidently went back to an earlier time, and the name Simonides is written in exceptionally large characters, "because, as a *gerousiarch*, his name serves as an eponym indicating the date."

On the other hand, M. Clermont-Ganneau thinks that the name of the father of Theodotos is purely Roman—Vettenus, or rather Vettienus, derived from Vettius. If this indicates that the bearer was a freedman or the son of a freedman, it is noteworthy that Jerusalem had a synagogue of the "freed"—the *Libertini*. And he is tempted to conjecture that this was, in fact, the synagogue constructed by Theodotos, son of the freedman Vettienus, for his kinsmen, descendants of the Jewish captives transported to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in B.C. 63. Indeed, he asks whether the money-changer Vettienus—often mentioned in Cicero's letters—may not be of Jewish origin, and perhaps the individual mentioned in the inscription.

S. A. C.

THE INSCRIPTION OF THEODOTOS.

By RABBI A. MARMORSTEIN, PH.D.

ALTHOUGH three scholars like M. R. Weill (*R.É.J.*, lxxi, p. 30), M. Th. Reinach (*ibid.*, pp. 46–57) and M. Clermont-Ganneau (at the meeting of the *Académie des Inscriptions*) translated and explained the Greek inscription of Theodotos found at Jerusalem, it will not seem out of place to supplement the valuable and lucid remarks of

M. Reinach by giving some references and details from the Old Rabbinic writings. The builder of the Synagogue—the inscription commemorates the building of such a place—was Theodotos, the son of Vettinus (Θεόδοτος Οὐεττήνου). The first name Theodotos is the Greek translation of Jonathan, Nathaniel, or Nathan. In תודוס איש רומי and תודוס הרופא we have the name in its hebraized form. The father's name is not preserved in Hebrew or Aramaic, unless we see, as we suggest later on, in בתירא the Hebraic form of Vettinus. There was also a man called בן אטיטוס or בן אטינוס (*see* Mishna, *Challah* iv., 12, and the reading of the Aruch), who brought the first fruits from Babylon to Jerusalem, and his gifts were not accepted. Yet, many instances show that the Latin *v* was transcribed by ב, *e.g.* vive = ביבי, ביה = via, Valens = באלי, Veluria = בלוריא, or ברוריא, etc.

Who was Theodotos? A priest (כהן), an archisynagogue, the son and grandson of an archisynagogue. M. Reinach says: "L'ἀρχισυνάγωγος est le chef spirituel d'une *συναγωγή*, prise au sens de 'communauté de fidèles'; c'est à peu près ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui un rabbin, mais avec des pouvoirs plus étendus que les Rabbins d'Occident actuels" (p. 49). He refers to Schürer II, 509, III, 88, Juster I, 450.

This definition says too much, and too little at the same time. Let us consult the Rabbinic sources for information as to the position of the archisynagogue. In the Mishna *Yomā* VII, 1, which reflects the conditions prevailing before the destruction of the Temple, we read: "The Hazan of the Synagogue takes the book of the Torah, and hands it over to the Archisynagogue (ראש הכנסת), who in turn gives it further to the Deputy High Priest, and finally the latter gives it to the High Priest." There was a synagogue in the Temple, which required no rabbi, neither in the Oriental, nor in the Occidental sense of the word. There were enough spiritual leaders in the Synhedrion, in the same place, yet, a lay head who looked after the place was wanted.

There are other passages to show that the ראש הכנסת was no scholar; many instances show that they were in matters of law and teaching dependent on the teachers, just as they followed and not preceded in rank and importance the scribes. As the material at our disposal would develop to an essay on this subject, we have to limit our proofs to these few points. The archisynagogue of

אבזיב, called ישגביון, asks a Halachic question of R. Gamaliel II, who travelled from one place to another. (*Tosefta Terumoth*, p. 28, l. 9.) The Galileans addressed this question to R. Helbo (III cent. A.D.): Who reads (the Torah) after them (*i.e.* after the Priest and the Levite)? He could not decide, and went asking R. Isaac Nappacha, who said: "after them read the תלמידי חכמים, the scholars, who are appointed as Parnassim in the community, after them scholars, who are qualified to be appointed as Parnassim (פרנסים), after them the sons of scholars, who are actually appointed as Parnassim, *and after them* the ראשי כנסיות, the archisynagogues, and after them anybody (*Talm. Bab. Gittin*, 60A)." This information seems, however, to clash with the "Tosefta" (p. 227, l. 10, ed. Zuckermandel), which tells us that the archisynagogue should not read the Torah, unless others told him to do so. It seems that in the third century it was usual for him to read. However that may be, it cannot disprove the fact that the archisynagogue was not "a spiritual" leader but a lay dignitary, who had the privilege of calling upon people to read the Torah. It seems obvious that the archisynagogue stands lower in rank than the Parnas and the Talmid Hakham. A somewhat similar classification of dignitaries and scholars as to the order of their sitting in the schools, and at the feasts is described in *Bab. Horayoth*, 13B (*see* my *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, II, p. 45 f.). The qualification required by a scholar for the dignity of the Parnas is discussed by R. Jochanan ben Nappacha (*see R.E.J.*, LXVI, pp. 44-45).[1]

The following story may throw light on the conditions outside Palestine. R. Judah ben Batyra went to Nisibis. It was on the eve of the Day of Atonement. He ate and prepared for the fast. The Chief of the Synagogue came to invite him and R. Judah said: "I had my meal already, and prepared for the fast." The Archisynagogue asked him: "Comply with my request, I pray thee, in

[1] *See* also *Boraita Bab. Pesakhim*, 49B, which says: "One should sell all his property in order to marry a daughter of a תלמיד חכם (scholar); if he fails to finds such, let him marry a daughter of the great of the generation (גדולי הדור, *see* A. Büchler, *The Political and Social Leaders of the Jewish Community in Sepphoris*, London, 1909, p. 8 *seq.*); failing this, let him marry a daughter of an archisynagogue (ראשי כנסיות); failing this, let him marry a daughter of a collector of charity (גבאי צדקה); failing this, let him marry a daughter of a schoolmaster (מלמדי תינוקות)." Here also, the archisynagogue, is, in social life, behind the scholar and the great of the generation.

order that people should not talk about me, saying: 'My master did not care for me.'" (*Lam. r.* 3-17, ed. Buber, p. 130.) We see that outside Palestine, as well as in Palestine, the archisynagogue did not rank so high as the scholar. Secondly, that the archisynagogue provides food for strangers. The first point is also borne out by the story of the Chief of the Synagogue in Bosra, who dragged a chair before R. Jeremia Rabba (*Bab. Shabb.*, 29B).

The titles of ראשי כנסיות and פרנסים often interchange in our sources, yet up to the third century they were distinguished from each other. In the description of the meals in the house of the mourners, the Treatise of *Semahoth* (ch. 14) reads ראש הכנסת, where *Bab. Ketuboth*, 8B, has פרנסים. The latter were certainly scholars of some standard, whilst the former needed perhaps no other qualification than a liberal purse. It was known from other inscriptions that the dignity of the archisynagogue was hereditary in Jewish families. This fact is corroborated by the Tannaitic sources, if our texts are correct, as far as the Parnassim are concerned. In Sifre Deut, § 162, we read: "Whence do we know that the children inherit the dignity of their fathers, or follow them in their dignity of Parnassim?" Because it is said: "He and his children in the midst of Israel" (*see* A. Büchler, *Das Synhedrion in Jerusalem*, Vienna, 1902, p. 174, note 156). It is therefore natural that Theodotos the archisynagogue was the son and grandson of men, who were styled by this title, and that he inherited it from his ancestors, who are referred to in the last line of the inscription.[1]

The *συναγωγή* served first of all the purpose of reading the law and teaching the commandments. As a matter of fact the Synagogue was in first instance a place of reading and study. A Boraita relates: A man comes home from his field in the evening, he goes to the Synagogue where he *reads* the Torah or *learns* the Mishna (*Bab. Berach.*, 4B). The two terms in the inscription illustrate the expressions קרא and שנה in the Boraitha.[2]

The Synagogue was secondly a hostel, as shown by M. Reinach. This detail is of great importance, for we see that the ancient Synagogues were not merely houses of prayers and study, but also places of social welfare, of charity and hospitality for strangers and homeless, for the sick and needy. The virtue of hospitality was pointed

[1] *See* A. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom.*, Frankfort, 1893, I, p. 68.

[2] *I.e.*, *εἰς ἀνάγνωσιν νόμου καὶ εἰς διδαχὴν ἐντολῶν.*

out very frequently by the Rabbis of all ages.[1] Rabbinic literature endorses fully the fact that the Synagogue was a place where people took their meals on Sabbaths and New-Moon days, especially strangers. This presupposes that there were corresponding arrangements in the Synagogue buildings for this purpose.

A few illustrations may suffice. R. מיישא and R. Samuel ben Isaac sat and ate in one of the Synagogue chambers. There came the time of prayer, R. Samuel ben Isaac arose in order to say prayers (*see Jer. Shabbath*, I. 2). R. Jeremiah raised the following question: "Do synagogues and schools require searching (before Passover), because people eat there on Sabbath and New-Moon days?" (*Jer. Pesakhim* l. 1). R. Jochanan ben Nappacha went into one of the synagogues of Sepphoris and gathered the crumbs left there and ate them, saying: "Let my share be with those who sanctified the New-Moon in this place" (*Jer. Synhedrion*, 8, 2). The "Kiddush" was recited there on Friday evenings, for the sake of the strangers, who had their meals there. Now, all this must have taken place in a separate room, somewhere in the building, not in the Synagogue proper, for eating and drinking were strictly prohibited in such a building (*see Bab. Megillah*, 28, B.). The Hazan or the schoolmaster, generally lived in the Synagogue buildings (*see Bab. Yoma*, 11A), and the violent people, who "ragged" the schoolmaster in the Synagogue of Kefr Hittaja, lived perhaps in the same place (*Gen. r*, 65, 16). Maybe the unfortunate schoolmaster was responsible for the food of these people. These rooms, where people ate, may be the ξενῶνα mentioned in the inscription of Theodotos.

What are the ἐώματα? M. Reinach translates: *les logements* (?), M. Weill: *les chambres*. One would be inclined to identify them with the עליות (upper chambers), which were attached to the Synagogues. There can be no doubt about עליות mentioned in connection with the New-Moon feasts (*Bab. Synh.*, 70B), that they were a part of the Synagogue buildings, especially bearing in mind the report of R. Jochanan mentioned previously.

The Rabbinic literature refers to many עליות belonging or named after some known or unknown person or family. The material is collected by S. Krauss (in Festschrift für Israel Levi, Breslau, p. 27–32). One of these calls for special attention, it is

[1] *See*, for example, my monograph *The Doctrine of Merits*, London, 1920. Index, s.v. "Hospitality."

the עליית יונתן בן בתירא, the upper chamber of (the Synagogue of) Johathan ben Batyra, where the elders of the House of Shammai and those of the House of Hillel gathered (*see* Sifre Num., § 115, Men. 41B reads יוחנן, such misreadings are very frequent indeed). If the dating of the inscription by the before-mentioned scholars is correct, it is not impossible that the gatherings of the elders and scribes took place just in the chambers of the Synagogue erected by Theodotos (Jonathan), the son of Vettinus (בתירא ?), if Vettinus could be the same as Batyra. This as a mere suggestion.[1] It is, of course, difficult to assume that the various עליות, where the scribes met, were rooms of private people put at the disposal of the rabbis.

Finally, we have a reference to the baths in the Synagogue, if M. Reinach's reading and translation is right.[2] I must admit that I am unable up till now to understand the proper meaning of the text. It does not seem to give a right sense. If the archaeologists will give us a proper text we might find out the meaning of it. In any case, we have to be grateful to the discoverers and interpreters for the valuable material they put at our disposal for the history of the Synagogue and its dignitaries.

London, *Nov.* 10*th*, 1920.

[1] As to the number of synagogues in Jerusalem there are three different traditions. One speaks of 480 synagogues (*Pal. Ketuboth*, III, 1), the other of 394 (*Bab. Ket.*, 105A), and the third of 80 places of worship (*see* Marmorstein, *Midrash Haseroh we Yeteroh*, London, 1917, p. 3, note 7).

[2] The Synagogue of Worms built in a later period has had, according to one inscription, also chambers and a bath in the same building, *see* A. Epstein, *Monatsschrift*, XL (1896), p. 556.

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE PHAESTOS DISK: THE OLDEST MUSIC IN THE WORLD?

By F. W. Read.

1. *Introduction.*—The unique and hitherto undeciphered document, known as the Phaestos Disk, was discovered by Dr. Pernier, the head of the Italian Mission, in the course of the excavations of 1908 on the site of the Palace of Phaestos on the south coast of Crete. According to the generally accepted chronology of Sir Arthur Evans, it belongs to the end of the Middle Minoan period (*c.* 1600 B.C.). It is a more or less circular piece of fine clay having a diameter of about 6 inches and a thickness varying from about $\frac{3}{5}$ to $\frac{4}{5}$ inch. Both faces are covered with signs impressed by means of stamps, each sign being absolutely identical in form at every occurrence. These signs are separated by a spiral and are divided into groups by vertical lines: there being 122 characters, making 31 groups, on Face A, and 119 characters, making 30 groups, on Face B. The number of individual characters is 45. The two faces of the Disk are shown in figs. 1 and 2, and the separate signs, with the method of denoting them devised by Prof. Macalister, in fig. 3.[1] The tables at the end of the paper[2] have been drawn up in this conventional notation, which it must be understood is merely a method of representing the signs without reproducing them, and is not intended to indicate any opinion as to their true value. The line drawn below the last sign of certain groups is indicated in the tables by underlining.

Such a well-preserved example of a wholly new script naturally attracted the attention of archaeologists immediately on its publication; but the hopes of a speedy decipherment have been disappointed, none of the suggestions made having obtained acceptance. As will be seen from the Bibliography, an active discussion was maintained till 1914, when it was apparently brought to an end by the outbreak of war. The study was resumed in 1919 by the Australian scholar, Mr. A. Rowe, whose essay was noticed

[1] These figures are printed from the blocks prepared for Prof. Macalister's *The Philistines*, by the kind permission of the Oxford University Press.

[2] The tables are transcribed from those prepared by Mr. A. C. Bryant, B.A., to whom, and to Mr. E. J. Pilcher, the author is much indebted for advice and assistance; they are, however, in no way responsible for the opinions expressed.

in the *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1920 (pp. 51, 65). This publication, together with the important excavations at Askalon, which may be expected to throw much light on the history of the Philistines, who were probably of Cretan origin, affords a suitable opportunity for reviewing the whole question. There was no intention, in the first instance, to do more than summarise the various opinions that have been expressed, and to indicate what appeared to be the strength and weakness of each; but, as the study has led the writer to the quite unforeseen conclusion that the signs printed on the Disk are musical notes, a discussion of the evidence for this interpretation has been added to the review of the literature.

2. *Direction of the Writing.*—There are really three questions involved here: (1) the direction in which *the spiral was traced*; (2) the direction in which *the characters were impressed*; and (3) the direction in which *the characters are to be read.* We believe that Dr. Della Seta[1] has demonstrated that in all three cases the direction is from the periphery to the centre, that is to say, from right to left.

(1) The general appearance of the two faces seems almost sufficient of itself to show that the scribe commenced to draw the spiral from the vertical line with five points.[2] Dr. Della Seta contends that he drew the first portion on Face A with one sweep of the hand as far as the angle at A 12, and then started afresh in a new direction to avoid the row of signs near the periphery. Another clear indication is to be found in two places on Face B, where he has not at first got quite the right curve and has had to recommence his line. In both places (B 14, 30) the small piece of the spiral out of the proper course runs to the left.[3] A third argument is provided by the differing shapes of the compartments in the centre of A and B. On Face A the spiral continues more or less regularly to the very last. On Face B the final compartment is quite irregular, indeed, almost a triangle. The explanation obviously is that the scribe found that he had surplus space to dispose of at the end of his task on Face B, but not on Face A.

[1] It has not been thought necessary to give references to the writers included in the Bibliography.

[2] There is a slight inaccuracy in the drawing, which shows four points only on Face A.

[3] On all matters of detail reference should be made to Dr. Pernier's beautiful reproduction.

(2) It can be equally (if not more) clearly shown that the characters were impressed from right to left. One of the large groups containing seven signs occurs twice, at A 17 and 29, but the first four signs are arranged differently in the two cases. In A 29 the second sign is placed over the first instead of by its side, and the third and fourth are upside down. Evidently the scribe saw that he had not sufficient space left to allow him to proceed in the orthodox manner. It will also be noticed that at A 12, where the spiral begins to recede from the periphery, the signs, nevertheless, keep at about the same average distance from it. A glance at the illustration will show that, while this arrangement would be quite natural to a scribe who had been writing all round the periphery, it would hardly be followed by one who was approaching it from the centre. Finally, where a sign has slightly grazed or obliterated a portion of another sign, it is the sign to the right that has suffered. Thus, in A 14, 3 has cut away a small portion of 2; and in A 29, 3 has grazed 2, and 4 has cut off part of 3.

Against the above arguments one fact only can be urged, which, however, admits of a simple explanation. In A 4 and 5, not only are the signs crowded together, but 5, 2 has very considerably damaged 5, 3, from which it may be argued that the scribe was getting near the end of his space, proceeding from left to right. But a careful examination of the photograph reveals that group 5 did not originally contain the present signs 1 and 2 at all, as the faint remains of the dividing line can be seen passing down in front of 3. What, therefore, happened was that the scribe obliterated group 4 in the wet clay, and on the space which it had occupied impressed both it and the existing signs 1 and 2 of group 5, crowding the whole together and damaging in the process the former first sign of 5.[1] It may be further remarked that, had the

[1] Another alteration has been made in A 8 by the obliteration of the last sign. Dr. Della Seta notes also that the second sign has been impressed over an obliterated sign. This is certainly correct, and the photograph seems to show that we may identify that sign as the woman (*d*). The first sign, moreover, shows traces of an earlier sign not now identifiable (possibly one of those which the script doubtless possessed in addition to the 45 on the Disk). It has not apparently been noticed that the obliterated final sign was the "trunk with two branches" (*v*); the general form can still be seen and even the details of the leaves on the left side. It is evident, therefore, that the whole of the group was reconstructed, which is strongly in favour of Della Seta's view that the alterations are those of the author, and not made to correct scribal errors.

scribe been really proceeding from left to right, and discovered that space was running short, he could have gained all he wanted by setting the characters of the remaining groups somewhat closer together. If such a course had been open to him he would have certainly preferred it to the very ugly crowding which we now find in 4 and 5.

(3) Since documents are usually (not to say invariably) written in the direction in which they are intended to be read, it would seem hardly neeessary to demonstrate, as a separate proposition, that the characters are to be read from right to left, that is to say, in the order in which they are impressed. If any further argument is needed, it may be found in the fact that in Egyptian and Hittite, written like the disk with images of living things and objects, the reader proceeds in the opposite direction to that in which the characters face. Dr. Della Seta considers this a psychological necessity; certainly, it is the way that the writers of hieroglyphs have followed.

These arguments have been generally regarded as conclusive and have been acquiesced in by, among others, M. A. J. Reinach and Prof. Macalister. But Dr. Pernier and Sir Arthur Evans, writing before the publication of Della Seta's important contribution to our understanding of the Disk, thought we should read from left to right. Dr. Pernier, however, recognised that the *spiral* was traced in the reverse direction, and that the analogy of Egyptian and Hittite would lead us to suppose that the characters also ran to the left.

3. *Order of the Faces.*—A similar, though far less important, question is, which face is to be read first, if, indeed, they are to be read continuously at all.

The indication of the faces by the letters A and B originated with Dr. Pernier, and has been very generally followed; but it was not based on any definite opinion as to the true order. Prof. Macalister and Sir Arthur Evans, for reasons connected with their views as to the nature of the document, proposed the reverse order. Della Seta, however, seeks to determine the question without recourse to any such opinions. He argues, very plausibly, that all writings tend to become careless towards the end; and, as Face B is obviously a less careful piece of work than Face A, he concludes that it was written after the latter.

The question is one that we can hardly hope to solve apart from the decipherment of the Disk, but there is not wanting ground for

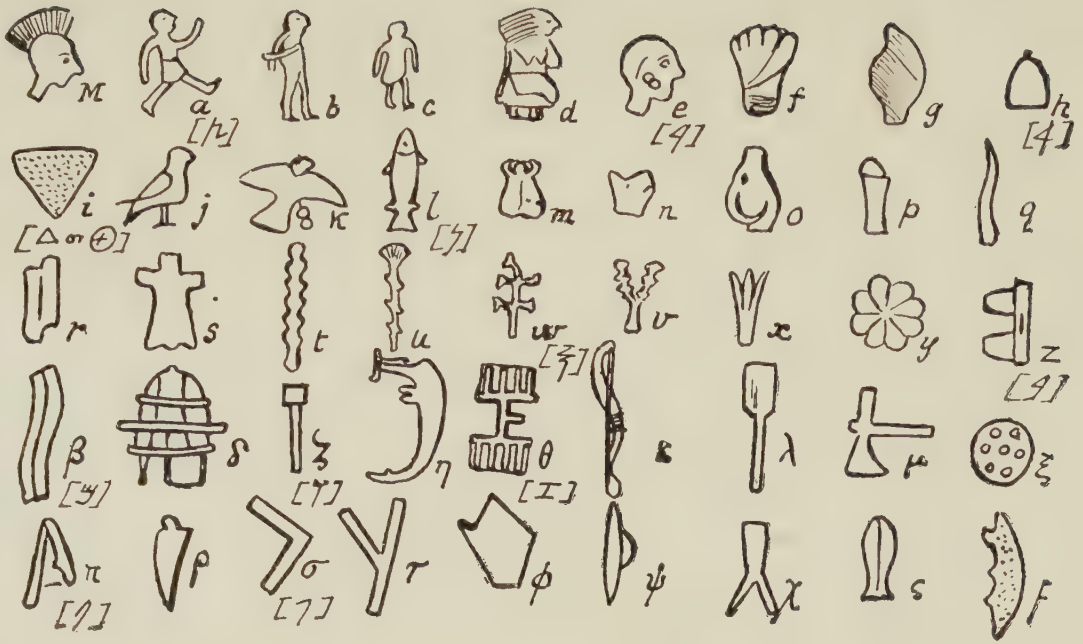


Fig. 3. The Characters on the Phaestos Disk.

Pernier's view that the two faces are independent texts, or at least two chapters of the same text. Unless it were necessary for each face to commence exactly as it does, it would have been easy to avoid the crowding of the signs on Face A, as compared with Face B. Della Seta also recognises that Face B may not be the continuation of Face A.

4. *Position of the Signs.*—A cursory examination of the Disk reveals the fact that the position of some of the signs with reference to the general line of writing varies very considerably; this is specially noticeable in the cat's head (*n*). The important question therefore arises whether these variations have any significance, or are merely the accidental result of careless work. The point has been little discussed, but Pernier and Della Seta have arrived at opposite conclusions upon it.

As Della Seta points out, the position of the signs is governed by a fixed principle, which is that they shall occupy the least possible space in width; and subject to this principle they appear in their natural positions. The human beings, for instance, all stand on their feet but the fish stands on its tail. The natural position was also preferred in cases where only a very small space would be gained by a departure from it. Thus the sign called a "hide" (*s*), but which may be a coat of mail or a shirt, usually has the "arms" uppermost, but where space was specially important, as in A 29, it is reversed. The position of a sign might also be changed under special conditions, even with the result of taking up more space, as in the case of the boat in B 29. If this sign had been placed on end as usual, it would have been extremely difficult to fit in the final group. It is clear that such changes could have had no significance. But Della Seta argues that change of position had no significance in any case. He points out that it is found in identically the same groups; and we have no reason to think that the group meant one thing in the one place and another thing in the other. The groups B 21 and 26 contain the same signs, yet the cat's head (*n*) has a different position in each; similarly in A 3 and B 20. Again, A 16, 19 and 22 are identical as to the signs, yet the flying bird or hawk (*k*) has the natural position in 16 and 19 and is reversed in 22. From all which he argues that, even where such evidence does not exist, we ought to conclude that the differences of position are accidental.

The argument is certainly a strong one, but perhaps not altogether conclusive. It may throw some light on the matter if

we ask ourselves why the cat's head should be the only sign to assume almost every possible position. The answer is to be found in the probable form of the punches with which the signs were impressed. It is not to be supposed that they were so made that the sign was shown on the upper side as well as on the lower; on the other hand, it is not likely that the upper side was identical for all. What we should expect would be that the general outline of the sign was visible above but not the details. If this were so, the back of the cat's head punch would be roughly square, and without close attention the scribe would not know the real position of the sign. That he could get it right when he chose is proved by B 19, 20, 21, but usually he did not trouble. Let us now look at the flying bird. In this case the punch viewed from above would appear much the same whether the head were at the right hand or the left, the main difference being that the wings would be a little more to the left when the bird was in the wrong position, so that we can understand the reversal in A 22. But in A 9 and 25 the bird stands on its tail. How are we to explain this anomaly? There was no need to gain space, and in fact no space is gained; nor would any but a particularly careless man make any mistake as to the position of the punch. The inference is that the bird was made to assume this unnatural attitude of set purpose. But this is not the whole of the story. In A 16, 19 and 22, the bird is preceded by two other signs; in A 9 and 25 it is the first sign. It would be difficult to believe that by pure accident a not very easy mistake should always be made in this special case and in no other!

Another instance where accident seems unlikely is that of the reversed horse's hoof (*p*) in A 15 and 21. It is true that the position of the sign would not be easily recognised by the upper side of the punch; but this is true also of many other signs which are never out of place. This general accuracy seems to imply that special care was taken in such cases; and raises a strong presumption that the reversal of *p*, occurring as it does twice over, was deliberate.

Dr. Pernier thinks that the different positions of the signs are significant, and compares the use in Latin epigraphy of letters turned in the wrong direction to indicate the feminine. Strangely, while he mentions the bird turned upside down and the diverse

positions of the cat's head, he does not refer to the bird standing on its tail nor to the reversed horse's hoof.

Though discussion of the objects represented by the signs has generally been excluded from this paper, that of the "breast" (*h*) may be noticed here as being one on which the possibility of reversed signs throws light. Pernier doubtfully makes it a "cap," and A. J. Reinach says that this interpretation appears to him certain. On the other hand, it is recognised as a breast by Della Seta, Macalister, and Evans. The Egyptian sign having this meaning is almost exactly like it, except as to position; and any argument from this difference is met (as Della Seta points out) by the analogy of the reversed horse's hoof.

5. *The "Virama."*—The line drawn under the final signs of certain groups, and usually sloping to the right, has been explained in various ways, and most commonly as a *virama*; this at any rate is a convenient provisional name to denote it. It may be remarked that, owing to the difficulty of distinguishing it from the numerous cracks in the clay, different copies of the Disk have the "virama" in different places. But a careful study of Pernier's photographic reproduction removes most of the doubts. In the writer's opinion, the illustrations to this paper give all these marks accurately, except that one should be shown under the last sign of B 8. Although the greater part has been carried away by a breakage, the extreme end of the line can still be seen. Analogy also would lead us to expect the "virama" at this point, as the same group of three signs in A 1 has it.[1]

The only other case that seems to require special notice is that of B 30, where some have thought to recognise another "virama." This group (*βh*) occurs three times without suffix (A 3; B 20, 24), and the *h* always take the "virama," so that we might expect one here; and by a strange coincidence there is a line in the right position. But, as Evans remarks, it crosses the corner of the sign and it is a mere scratch quite unlike the "virama" elsewhere. Where the "virama" is present, the group *βh* is always preceded by *n* or *h*, and its occurrence may be connected with the use of these signs. Its omission in B 30 may, however, be due to this being the last group, in which case we should be led to conclude that it is a sign of pause, and therefore not required at the end of the text.

The true virama is a mark placed under the last letter of a word written in the Devanagari alphabet to indicate that the

[1] The illustration accompanying A. J. Reinach's article shows a "virama" to the *left* of the sign, but this mark appears from the photograph to be merely the edge of the lacuna in which the upper part of the "virama" has been lost.

inherent vowel is elided, and the fact that the supposed virama of the Disk appears at the ends of groups only has suggested to Ed. Meyer, Hempl, Macalister, and others that it has a similar significance. This view, however, is by no means so easy as has been thought. In the Devanagari script, the elision of inherent vowels in the body of a word is indicated either by writing the next consonant *under* the one whose vowel is to be elided or by a special form of the character. Now it is hardly likely that in the language of the Disk, vowels did not sometimes require to be elided otherwise than finally; and for such elision no provision appears to be made. Since we do not know what the language of the Disk was, it is of course *possible* that some signs stand for a simple consonant and some for the same consonant plus a vowel; but this is very improbable in such a system of writing.

Other opinions as to the use of the "virama" are: as mark of accentuation (Della Seta); as punctuation or sign of the plural (A. J. Reinach); as denoting the commencement of sentences or sections (Evans).

6. *Meaning of the Text.*—Of the various suggestions towards solving the enigma of the message intended to be conveyed by the author of the Disk, one of the most promising at first sight is the reading of the helmeted head (*M*) as a determinative. To Prof. Eduard Meyer the words beginning with it are names of men, perhaps of warriors and princes; to Prof. Macalister it is a determinative of proper names, and Mr. Rowe sees in it an ideograph or determinative of "head," "chief," and the like. The reasons given for this view are that the sign in question is an appropriate one to determine personal names, and that it is unlikely that a phonetic character should occur only at the beginning of words. Attractive as the argument is, some strong reasons may be urged in opposition to it. If the groups are analysed, it will be found that those supposed to be proper names obey precisely the same laws as those which are not. The following, for instance, are strictly parallel in construction.

TABLE A.

1	2	3
ta	*βh*	
taxl	*nβh*	
Mξta	*hβh*	*Mξkq*
Mξtaσ	*sβhξ*	*kqξ*
μhtaσ	*sβhw*	*kqw*

In all three columns we have a central group, and this group can either stand alone or be accompanied by prefixes and suffixes in various combinations. As there is no determinative in col. 2, why should we think there is in cols. 1 and 3? Further, we find in cols. 1 and 3 that the central groups, *ta* and *kŋ*, with or without prefixes and suffixes, occur five times without determinative, and therefore presumably as ordinary words. It is by no means impossible that the same roots should appear in proper names and in ordinary words; indeed, since all proper names are significant in origin, they must do so. But is it in the remotest degree likely that the root meaning of one proper name should require to be expressed three times, and of another proper name twice, in a short document of sixty-one words?

The table also shows that, if *M* is a real determinative, there were two names in the same document so closely alike as *ξta* and *ξtaϱ*. Once again, we cannot affirm this to be impossible, but it is obviously far more likely that the forms are to be explained in the same way as those in col. 2. Prof. Macalister seems to have felt the difficulty, for he suggests that in one case *ϱ* has been omitted, "by accident, or to save space"—a very dangerous hypothesis when dealing with an unknown script.

In close connection with the theory of proper names on the Disk is Prof. Macalister's view that it is a contract tablet. If we reject the helmeted head as a determinative, there is no longer any ground for this explanation, on which also depends the order B A, A being supposed to be a list of the witnesses. An independent objection is that contract tablets usually contain numerals, and the known systems of numerals (including that of the Cretan pictographs) would lead us to expect that these would be easily distinguishable from the other words. No signs, however, can be pointed to as fulfilling this condition.

Another opinion is based mainly on arguments about the place of origin of the Disk. Pernier, on its discovery, pronounced it to be a Cretan product, but this view has been almost universally rejected. The hieroglyphs are, in the main, different from the Cretan pictographs, and some of the most usual of the latter do not appear at all. The similarity which exists in some cases is no sufficient argument for a common origin, since all hieroglyphic writing must be derived more or less from the same material. Dr. Pernier has argued that the difference of aspect may be partly

due to the differences of technical processes; but (as Sir Arthur Evans points out) this very difference "might be regarded as itself only another indication of non-Cretan origin." On this basis A. J. Reinach has reached the conclusion that the Disk is probably the copy, preserved in the archives of Phaestos, of some convention or treaty.

Pernier and Evans both attribute a sacred character to the Disk, the former comparing it with the leaden *bulla* of Magliano, which contains the names of Etruscan divinities and is regarded as a ritual of the Etruscan religion. It is engraved in a spiral like the Disk, from which, however, it is separated in time by over 1,000 years. Evans, basing himself on the evidence of metrical arrangement, thinks that the Disk represents some chaunt or incantation.

The theory of a treaty of alliance or an account of a campaign is favoured by M. Dussaud. He considers that the Cretan pictographs use a lion as the emblem of royalty; and for this reason, together with its position, he supposes *n* (a head of a lioness in his view) to represent "king of," the following signs indicating the name of the country.

M. Ch. Bruston comes to the conclusion that the Disk contains "the list of the principal dignitaries of the island of Crete in the 17th or 18th century before our era." A very similar view is put forward by Mr. Rowe, but with him the Disk is not Cretan but Cypriote. He suggests that the ten "names" preceded by *Mξ* ("Chief of the Shield"), are those of the ten Cypriote princes (nine Greek and one Phœnician), who paid homage to Esarhaddon in 673 B.C. The obvious difficulty that the names on the Disk cannot be equated with those recorded in Assyrian, is met by the assumption that native names would be given to their rulers by the Cypriotes.

We may note finally that the language of the Disk has been claimed as Greek by Prof. Hempl and by Miss Stawell, and as Finnish by Arthur Gleye, while the Rev. John Griffith has argued that the text is probably a calendar.

7. *Characteristics of the Writing.*—The best account of these is to be found in Dr. Della Seta's paper, in which he has fully discussed the indications which the Disk affords of the structure of the language in which it may be supposed to be written. The dominant feature which discloses itself is called by Della Seta *disematism*,[1]

[1] We adopt this word as the equivalent of *disematismo*, and similarly *diseme* for *disema*.

which is defined as "the constant and necessary union of two signs." This is accompanied by a system of prefixes and suffixes. For example, the diseme *ta* occurs five times (see Table A)—once standing alone, once followed by the diseme *xl*, twice preceded by the diseme *Mξ* (in one case with the suffix *σ*), and once preceded by the diseme *μh* and followed by the suffix *σ*. A similar arrangement can be traced in many other groups. From the above evidence, and from the fact that the Disk contains no group of less than two signs, it is clear that we have to do with a real law of the writing and not with fortuitous combinations, though it is, of course, possible that there may be some instances of the latter.

The disematism being established, Della Seta proceeds to consider the possible value of the signs, and, first of all, the alphabetic hypothesis, which he refutes.

> On the alphabetic hypothesis the first sign of a diseme will usually be a consonant and the second a vowel, though it makes but little difference to the argument if we reverse them. According to Della Seta's analysis, there are 17 signs which occur only as prefix or first sign of a diseme, 16 which occur only as suffix or second sign of a diseme, 9 which may occur in either position, and 3 whose position is doubtful. From these figures we may conclude that some 20 signs have a vocalic value, which is far too great a number out of a total of 45 characters.
>
> The next argument against the alphabetic hypothesis is that many of the signs occupy a fixed position in the groups. *M* is found only at the beginning of a group ; *n* either at the beginning of a group or as first sign of a diseme ; while *ξ* can apparently have no other place than that following *M* or at the end of a group. But in alphabetic writing, while certain letters may appear preferably in one position rather than another, a large measure of mobility exists. Further, the signs not only occupy determinate positions in the groups, but many of them require the accompaniment of one special character or one of two characters. For instance, *t* is *always* followed by *a*, *β* by *h*, and *k* by *q* ; while *δ* takes either *g* or *s* after it. It seems in some cases also difficult for the second sign to occur apart from the first ; *q* is found six times altogether, five times following *k*, and once only in another position (B 11) ; *g* appears *only* after *δ*. Here, again, the phenomena are quite different from those of alphabetic writing. Some consonants may, it is true, specially attract certain vowels, but it would be a strange kind of writing in which it was *essential* that a given letter should be followed by a certain other letter.

Dr. Della Seta next deals with the syllabic hypothesis, and finds the same objections to it as to the alphabetic. Languages are not,

in fact, so constructed that certain syllables (any more than certain letters) must always appear at a determinate place in a word, and must always be followed by certain other syllables.

The only remaining hypothesis in Della Seta's opinion is a combination of phonetic signs and ideograms; this theory he develops at great length, but his argument can only be rapidly summarised here.

> He first points out that it is not possible to make a clear division between phonetic and ideographic characters, since the former have an ideographic derivation; and he puts forward the view that those signs which are prefixes or first signs of a diseme are ideograms, those which are suffixes or second signs of a diseme are phonetic, and those which may take either position are ideographic and phonetic in turn. The question whether the phonetic part of a diseme is a partial transcription of the ideogram (like the Egyptian complementaries) or an inflexion, is a problem that at first sight seems impossible of solution. But when we consider that the same signs which are second in a diseme are sometimes suffixes to a whole group, where they cannot be the transcription of an ideogram, it is probable that they may represent the inflected part of the word (gender, number, case, person, tense, mood).

A question may be raised, says Della Seta, as to why, on his view, the ideograms should not sometimes appear alone (as in Egyptian), and this leads him to consider whether the groups separated by vertical lines are really words or are not rather groups of words. To this he answers that they are probably groups of words.

> Taking the "typical example" *Mξ*, he argues that from its frequent occurrence (13 times), its conspicuous position (always first in a group), and the very nature of the principal sign (the human head), we ought to conclude that it is an essential part of the group and not a mere inflexion. Whence naturally follows its recognition as subject of the various verbs by which it is accompanied in the different groups. Admitting such a combination of two parts of speech, we must conclude that the groups are not mere words but true sentences, consisting in the smallest of the verb alone and in the largest of verb, subject, and complement. It is further argued that the groups are not separate words because no group consists of less than a diseme, while in every group a diseme is clearly recognisable, and it is not possible to believe that all the parts of speech of a language are of one single type.

The results at which Dr. Della Seta has arrived are almost wholly accepted by M. A. J. Reinach, the only important difference

of opinion between them being as to the nature of the groups. As against Della Seta's view that they are sentences, Reinach argues that it is hardly probable that sentences should be so short as to be rendered by two signs. He thinks that the groups are the words of an agglutinative language with traces of inflexion. The prefixes and suffixes will, then, not be the subjects and objects of verbs, but will rather serve "to determine modes of existence or of action."

This last opinion is substantially that of Prof. Macalister. He considers the prefixes ξ, s, n, h, χ, and the suffixes w and ξ to be marks of declension, and deduces the grammatical rule that words in apposition begin with the same prefix. Thus we have n in A 3, 4; ϵ in A 6, 7; h in B 23–25; and n again in B 19, 20.

8. *Difficulties of the Linguistic Hypothesis.*—The preceding portion of this paper has been written on the assumption that the Disk is a document in some language, and that the problem before the student is to find the nature of that language. This assumption has been regarded as unquestionable by all previous writers, and it is *primâ facie* the most probable one. But it has led nowhere, and it may be worth while to admit (provisionally at any rate) the possibility that, after all, the signs on the Disk do not express any language whatever.

If the Disk is, as generally believed, the sole monument we possess of an unknown language, there would seem to be only three possible views of the nature of the script. As no one is likely at the present day to repeat the error of the early "decipherers" of Egyptian, who could not conceive of obvious pictures being anything but ideograms, the script must apparently be either (1) alphabetic, (2) syllabic, or (3) a mixture of ideographic and phonetic characters. Since, for the reasons already given by Della Seta and Reinach, (1) and (2) are plainly inadmissible, it remains to enquire whether (3), which they have adopted, is any more acceptable. It is submitted that it is not, and the arguments for this opinion will be found to be very similar to those which prove the impossibility of (1) and (2).

One of these arguments is, that the ideographic nature of the first element of a diseme requires us to suppose the repetition of the same word to an incredible extent. Three of the most clearly marked disemes are *ta*, *βh* and *kq*, and these alone would account for 16 words out of 61, or more than one-fourth! It is true that an ideogram need not always express precisely the same idea, but

unless its range were very limited, the writing would be unintelligible. One of the commonest ideograms in Egyptian is the "sun," and beyond indicating that body it has practically no other meaning than the closely related "day."[1] It is theoretically possible that the various combinations formed by a diseme might stand towards each other in the same way as the English words *tar*, *tart*, *star*, *start*. This would save us from the repetition of the same word, but at the expense of another improbability, since it would be very strange if even one set of such words, quite unrelated in meaning, should occur in a short text, to say nothing of the many that would be required to explain the writing of the Disk. Moreover, this explanation is excluded by the fact that the prefixes and suffixes must, if we are indeed dealing with a language, be true formative elements because of their occurrence with different disemes, while the *s* and *t* of the English words have no such function. And, in any case, it would be fatal to Della Seta's theory that the groups contain complete sentences.

Another very great difficulty is that the word represented by each ideogram seems frequently to be capable of inflexion in one way only. To refer once again to the three outstanding disemes, *ta*, *βh* and *kq*, *a* is the *only* inflexion of *t*, *h* of *β*, and *q* of *k*. It is hardly possible to believe that these three words not only occur 16 times in all, but that each one is never required, except in one mood and tense! There is a further curious fact. Other things being equal, the words which occur most frequently should have the greatest number of inflexions; but the opposite is the case here. While *t* (five times), *β* (six times), and *k* (five times) have only one inflexion each, *d* (four times) and *ô* (four times) have two each. Finally, of the seven inflexions, not a single one combines with more than one of the five ideograms. Theoretically possible, perhaps, but surely most improbable![2]

As we have already seen, there are nine signs which must, if Della Seta is correct, be used both ideographically and phonetically; and this fact constitutes another grave objection to his theory. It

[1] The ideogram "sun" must, of course, not be confused with the determinative "sun," which has a very extensive use. In the latter case the word is already fully expressed phonetically before the "sun" is written at all; in the former the "sun" is the *only* expression of the word.

[2] Exceptionally, the sign *ζ* enters into many combinations; this one case, however, will hardly outweigh the evidence already cited.

is true, as he says, that there can be no clear division between ideographic and phonetic signs, because presumably every sign in a picture writing acquires its phonetic value from its meaning as an ideogram. Nevertheless, in practice, as the Egyptian system shows, signs do tend to sort themselves roughly into classes, so that, for instance, the cerastes (or snail) and the chick (or duckling) are to be met with countless thousands of times as alphabetic characters for each occurrence as ideograms. Of the nine signs refered to on the Disk, three only are used more frequently as phonetic signs than as ideograms: *a* (10 to 1), *h* (14 to 4), and *y* (3 to 1). In the other six cases the numbers are either equal for each use or *less* for the phonetic use than for the ideographic. Taking the total figures for the nine signs, the phonetic use occurs 41 times and the ideographic 40. In fact, for *a* only is the proportion anything like what we might expect on Della Seta's hypothesis. Further, in a script that has both ideographic and phonetic elements, we must assume the phonetic signs to be comparatively few in number, for if *any* sign could stand for the sound which it has as an ideogram, the writing would be no better than a rebus. It follows from this consideration that the number of the ideographic signs in such a script must be very much greater than that of the phonetic; and it is therefore inconsistent with the probabilities of the case that out of a total of 45 characters (ideographic and phonetic together) nine, or no less than one-fifth, should be used with both a phonetic and an ideographic value.

And this argument brings us to a final objection of a somewhat different kind. It has been recognised from the first that it is not likely that the 45 signs on the Disk are the whole of those belonging to the script. Seeing that nine of these signs occur once only, it would be strange if there were not others that do not occur at all. But it may reasonably be argued that there could not have been many more, as in that case the work of cutting the punches and the difficulty of handling them would have been too great to be worth while. It would obviously have been much simpler to form each character in the clay as the Babylonians did. But a system in which 26 ideograms could be used in one short text must have possessed at least several hundreds in all!

Prof. Macalister's view of the groups as words requires to be dealt with on slightly different lines, but in substance it is open to the same objections as those already advanced against the theories of Della Seta. As has been stated, Prof. Macalister takes the prefixes and suffixes to be marks of declension, and here a serious difficulty at once

presents itself. As Face A is *ex hypothesi* a list of witnesses, with their titles, the whole must be in the *same case*. Therefore the only possible explanation of the differing prefixes is that the words belong to *different declensions*. There is, of course, nothing surprising in this, but it entails consequences that do not seem easy to accept. The prefix *h* occurs three times in succession (B 23–25), and the prefix *n* no less than four times (B 18–21),[1] so that the three words must be in the same declension, and the four words must be in the same declension. This state of affairs is not impossible, but a succession of four words would be likely to show more than one declension in a language possessing more than one.

9. *The Disk as a Musical Composition.*—In his *Scripta Minoa* (1909), Sir Arthur Evans wrote as follows, at p. 291 : "The traces thus revealed of an artificial arrangement, to a certain extent identical in both halves of the inscription, lead most naturally to the conclusion that we have here to do with a metrical composition divided into two equal staves. There can be little doubt that it follows the laws of a primitive music, and it may well represent some kind of chaunt or incantation."

These sentences come astonishingly near to the theory to be now set forth, and indeed the reference to "the laws of a primitive music" might almost suggest that Sir Arthur Evans had himself adopted that theory, did not the context show that what he really had in mind was words intended to be sung to music. The present writer desires to acknowledge that without this hint he might never have arrived at what he believes to be the solution of the riddle. It was, indeed, only after a considerable time that, one day pondering the grave difficulties of the linguistic hypothesis, the thought suddenly flashed upon him that all these difficulties might be swept away by going just one step beyond Evans and supposing that the Disk gives us, not words to be sung to music, but music itself!

With this preface, let us consider the "artificial arrangement" to which Evans refers, an important part of which becomes clear if we set out the last 18 groups of Face A in three lines.

[1] It is true that in B 21 *n* is preceded by χ, but this will not prevent *n* being a prefix, as it clearly is so in B 18, and the signs of the latter are repeated in B 21 with χ as an additional prefix.

TABLE B.

1	2	3	4	5	6
14. *Msηλζσ*	15. *pa̲*	16. *Mξkq̲*	17. *Mξsswuθ*	18. *lζ*	19. *Mξkq̲*
20. *Msηλζσ*	21. *pa̲*	22. *Mξkq̲*	23. *Mξszjσs*	24. *dσψτ*	25. *kqξ*
26. *Mξta*	27. *ζτw̲*	28. *λey*	29. *Mξsswuθ*	30. *ta*	31. *λey*

On examining this table[1] we see that there is a double parallelism: the three lines as a whole are parallel, and cols. 1, 2 and 3 are parallel to cols. 4, 5 and 6.

Every group in cols. 1 and 4 begins with *M*—four with *Mξ* and two with *Ms*; there being two identical groups in col. 1 and two also in col. 4. In col. 2 there are two groups of two signs and one of three, while in col. 5 there are two groups of two signs and one of four. Cols. 3 and 6 both contain the diseme *kq* in the first and second lines, and are identical in the third line.

A very striking feature is the use of the "virama" in col. 2, where it occurs in every line. As the group *pa̲* is repeated, the "virama" would naturally occur as part of it, but that the author deliberately intended there to be a "virama" in every line, is rendered certain by that in the third line being written to the sign *w*, which never has it elsewhere, though this sign occurs finally in six other places.[2]

Another extremely remarkable fact is the way in which so many exceptional characters and groups have been brought together in this passage, occupying less than one-third of the Disk. In cols. 2 and 5 the major part of the groups consisting of a single diseme is found, there being four here as against two in the rest of the text. The signs *e*, *ρ*, *θ*, λ and *ψ*, and the disemes *lζ* and *ζτ* occur in this passage only; while the diseme *kq* and the sign *τ* appear but once elsewhere. The unique occurrence of the "virama" under *w* has been already mentioned.

As the last 18 groups of Face A exhibit parallelism, so also do the last 13 groups of Face B, but parallelism of a far less regular

[1] Evans (p. 290) gives two figures (131 and 132) showing parallelism. Fig. 132 contains the first three columns of lines 1 and 2 of our table. Fig. 131 consists of parts of our first and third lines. This latter parallelism of four groups is perfectly good in itself, but it breaks the continuity of the passage, and, moreover, requires one group (A 16) to be used twice over.

[2] It is curious that the first line has the "virama" three times, the second twice, and the third once. This may be accidental, but, seeing that there are contrasts as well as resemblances in the table, it may be part of the design.

character. The groups again arrange themselves in three lines thus[1]:—

TABLE C.

1	2	3	4	5
18. *nvhf*	19. *nft*		20. *nβh*	
21. *χnvhf*	22. *smζη*	23. *hσw*	24. *hβh*	25. *hζσδ*
26. *χnvhf*				
27. *πoxσh*	29. *nmζη*		30. *βh*	
28. *Mdwζh*				

The groups do not here, as in Table B, run on without a break; but the parallelism is nevertheless unmistakable. There is even a double parallelism, but not of such an obvious kind as that on Face A. While the groups in the same column of Table B are frequently identical, here they are as a rule identical apart from their prefixes;[2] and the same prefix extends across several columns in the present table. Thus in col. 4 we have *nβh*, *hβh* and *βh*; in the second line *hσw*, *hβh* and *hζσδ*.

There is a further remarkable difference in detail combined with agreement in general plan, viz., the contrast (which it is difficult to suppose other than intentional) between the number of signs in the groups. In Table B are five groups containing six or seven signs (all in cols. 1 and 4) but not one containing five; while in Table C there are no less than four groups of five signs (all in col. 1), but none with six or seven. In the remaining groups of the two faces (approximately equal in number) there is no such contrast.[3]

These evidences of "artificial arrangement" are amply sufficient to negative any suggestion that the phenomena are merely fortuitous. We see the author planning his parallelisms, sometimes more, sometimes less, exact, like all parallelisms, as plainly as if he were expounding them to us *in propria persona*. And, when this is once

[1] This table was originally published by Prof. Macalister, but he drew very different conclusions from it.

[2] It will be understood that the word "prefix" is merely a convenient expression to denote a first sign which does not appear to belong to a diseme.

[3] We seem to have here arrived at the solution of the question of whether the two sides of the Disk are separate compositions or not. Both faces begin with a part showing no parallelism and conclude with a part showing clear parallelism; this fact combined with the differences of detail leads to the inference that the two faces are distinct parts of one composition, so far distinct at any rate as to necessitate the slight crowding of A as compared with B.

grasped, the theory of a musical composition seems to be the only one capable of supplying a satisfactory explanation. That words intended to be set to music might naturally assume a parallelistic form is obvious, but here we have it carried to an extent that is very difficult to associate with language of any kind, and which in most languages would be hardly possible.

These 18 groups on Face A and 13 on Face B, though the most striking, are by no means the only, cases of artificial arrangement. The repetition of the same sign in adjacent groups is another very marked feature of the composition.

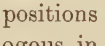
The prefixes have already been fully considered. Omitting these and the 18 groups of Face A, the repetitions are: *f* (B 18, 19); *h* (B 1, 2; 20, 21; 26, 27); *l* (B 15, 16); *r* (A 10, 11); *w* (A 9, 10); ζ (B 28, 29); ξ (A 1, 2; 5, 6); *s* (B 10, 11); *ta* (B 7, 8). Two facts point clearly to these collocations being deliberately contrived: they consist always of two groups only, and the repeated sign never occupies the same position in both groups. The argument is strikingly confirmed by one group which we have omitted from the list. The sign *h* really occurs in B 28, as well as in 26 and 27. If this were added, we should have a collocation of three successive groups containing *h*, and we should also have *h* in the same position in two adjacent groups; that is to say, the two rules would be violated at the same time. The occurrence of this particular collocation is thus marked as fortuitous.

Again, the inference seems to be clear. The author was not dealing with words, but with musical notes. Alliteration is difficult enough to accomplish successfully, but it is easy compared with the grouping of "words" of the form of those on the Disk so as to make sense. That the "words" are all quite short, and that some of the signs are rare, constitute almost insuperable difficulties from the linguistic point of view; the most striking instance of rarity is *r*, which is found only in A 10, 11. It is significant also, that some of the commonest signs do not figure in the list at all. If we have to do with music, where the composer can, within limits, manipulate the notes as he wills, all difficulty is removed.

Certain groups consisting of a single diseme must next be considered. These are: *xκ*, *pa̲*, *lζ*, and *pa̲* (A 13, 15, 18, 21). These groups present a number of very striking peculiarities: (1) They are the only disemes that always occur in isolation, the other two that once stand alone (*ta*, *βh*) being found also in many different

combinations. (2) The sign 𐄁 is in every other place (10 in all) either certainly or probably the first sign of a diseme. (3) The signs *k* and *p* do not appear elsewhere on the Disk. Such "words" present a hopeless problem on the linguistic hypothesis. As they have no prefix or suffix, they must presumably belong to some special part of speech, say conjunctions or prepositions, or both. But it would be a strange language in which unusual combinations of sound were in such a marked degree appropriated to one class of words. Again, why should all the words of this class (whatever it is) be comprised within a space of nine groups?[1]

It is almost needless to add that there can be no difficulty if the document is a piece of music. The unusually short groups and the unusual signs are there simply because the composer wanted to produce an unusual effect in that particular passage.

A final argument remains, of less weight than some others, but perhaps worth stating. It has been shown above (*see* p. 34) that the positions of two signs at least have been in all probability intentionally varied. These are the hawk (*k*), which stands on its tail in A 9, 25; and the horse's hoof (*p*), which is upside down in the only two places where it occurs (A 15, 21). Now, it so happens that in the oldest music hitherto known, the Greek of the third century B.C.,[2] this very device is actually adopted. Thus we find in the Hymns to Apollo:  .[3] And, while we have this evidence of the varying positions of the signs in writing *music*, we know of nothing analogous in the writing of languages, as the reversed letters in Latin epigraphy are hardly parallel. If alphabets and syllabaries had been arbitrarily invented, it would have been quite easy, and certainly convenient, to select a

[1] Della Seta's view, that the groups are phrases or sentences rather than words, escapes the difficulty arising from a special class of words, but does not really better the position. He regards all the single disemes as verbs. The question then has to be put: why are so many verbs that stand alone, and are spelt with unusual signs, accumulated in this small part of the Disk?

[2] Wessely has published a papyrus of the time of Augustus containing a fragment of music for a chorus of the *Orestes* of Euripides, which he regards as contemporary with the poet. (*Revue des Etudes Grecques*, vol. V (1892), pp. 265–280.)

[3] Théodore Reinach, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1893, pp. 584-610, pll. XXI, XXI bis, XXII; 1894, pp. 363–389, pll. XII, XII bis, XIII, XIX–XXVII. A great number of other cases are given by Alypius, edited by Meibom, *Antiquæ Musicæ Auctores* (1652), and now by Prof. Jan in the Teubner Series, *Musici Scriptores Græci* (1895).

Fig. 1. The Phaestos Disk, Face A.

Fig. 2. The Phaestos Disk, Face B.

character for, say, *pa*, and turn it upside down for *ap*. But there has been surprisingly little invention in the domain of writing. Putting aside Semitic, which may or may not have followed normal processes, it seems beyond doubt that all writing has been developed out of ideograms, by using certain of the commonest and most convenient of them to express their *sound*, abstracted from the idea of the object depicted. Human invention, so far as we know, never went beyond this until comparatively recent times; and invented systems have not passed into current use.

With music the case is totally different, since it is impossible to get a musical notation at all without a certain amount of invention. Man has not been very lavish of his inventive labour even here; he has generally used the symbols that lay ready to his hand, and everything suggests that the signs of the Phaestos Disk were originally a syllabary. Nevertheless, there was no such connection between a sign in a syllabary and a musical note as there is between an ideogram and the name of the object depicted. Somebody had to arbitrarily decide that a certain character was to stand for a certain note, and, the inventive faculty once aroused, it found a means of economising signs by writing them in various positions. Thus it was in Greece, and thus it may well have been a thousand years earlier in Crete, or in whatever Aegean land the Disk was imported from.

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TABLE I.

Transcript of Face A.

1.	*Mξtaσ*	12.	*Mξjζy*	22.	*Mξkq*
2.	*δsξ*	13.	*xκ*	23.	*Mξszjσs*
3.	*nβh*	14.	*Msηλζσ*	24.	*dσψτ*
4.	*nnm*	15.	*pa*	25.	*kqξ*
5.	*Mξbsl*	16.	*Mξkq*	26.	*Mξta*
6.	*sβhξ*	17.	*Mξsswuθ*	27.	*ζτw*
7.	*sφf*	18.	*lζ*	28.	*λey*
8.	*Mξdσ(−)*	19.	*Mξkq*	29.	*Mξsswuθ*
9.	*kqw*	20.	*Msηλζσ*	30.	*ta*
10.	*Mξrτw*	21.	*pa*	31.	*λey*
11.	*arsh*				

Transcript of Face B.

1.	*Mξχsh*	11.	*Mqvs*	21.	*χnvhf*
2.	*sβhw*	12.	*sηya*	22.	*smζη*
3.	*Muζc*	13.	*nδδgw*	23.	*hσw*
4.	*χηs*	14.	*ρzσ*	24.	*hβh*
5.	*lδgξ*	15.	*nla*	25.	*hζσδ*
6.	*ρζσi*	16.	*dwjxl*	26.	*χnvhf*
7.	*taxl*	17.	*Mπsa*	27.	*πoxσh*
8.	*μhtaσ*	18.	*nvhf*	28.	*Mdwζh*
9.	*χufη*	19.	*nft*	29.	*nmζη*
10.	*hδsw*	20.	*nβh*	30.	*βh*

TABLE II.

List of Individual Signs.

M	(19)	A	1, 1; 5, 1; 8, 1; 10, 1; 12, 1; 14, 1; 16, 1; 17, 1; 19, 1; 20, 1; 22, 1; 23, 1; 26, 1; 29, 1. B 1, 1; 3, 1; 11, 1; 17, 1; 28, 1.
a	(11)	A	1, 4; 11, 1; 15, 2; 21, 2; 26, 4; 30, 2. B 7, 2; 8, 4; 12, 4; 15, 3; 17, 4.
b	(1)	A	5, 3.
c	(1)	B	3, 4.
d	(4)	A	8, 3; 24, 1. B 16, 1; 28, 2.
e	(2)	A	28, 2; 31, 2.
f	(5)	A	7, 3. B 18, 4; 19, 2; 21, 5; 26, 5.
g	(2)	B	5, 3; 13, 4.
h	(18)	A	3, 3; 6, 3; 11, 4. B 1, 5; 2, 3; 8, 2; 10, 1; 18, 3; 20, 3; 21, 4; 23, 1; 24, 1; 24, 3; 25, 1; 26, 4; 27, 5; 28, 5; 30, 2.
i	(1)	B	6, 4.
j	(3)	A	12, 3; 23, 5. B 16, 3.
k	(5)	A	9, 1; 16, 3; 19, 3; 22, 3; 25, 1.
l	(6)	A	5, 5; 18, 1. B 5, 1; 7, 4; 15, 2; 16, 5.
m	(3)	A	4, 3. B 22, 2; 29, 2.
n	(11)	A	3, 1; 4, 1; 4, 2. B 13, 1; 15, 1; 18, 1; 19, 1; 20, 1; 21, 2; 26, 2; 29, 1.
o	(1)	B	27, 2.
p	(2)	A	15, 1; 21, 1.
q	(6)	A	9, 2; 16, 4; 19, 4; 22, 4; 25, 2. B 11, 2.
r	(2)	A	10, 3; 11, 2.
s	(15)	A	6, 1; 7, 1; 14, 2; 17, 3; 17, 4; 20, 2; 23, 3; 23, 7; 29, 3; 29, 4. B 2, 1; 4, 3; 12, 1; 17, 3; 22, 1.
t	(6)	A	1, 3; 26, 3; 30, 1. B 7, 1; 8, 3; 19, 3.
u	(4)	A	17, 6; 29, 6. B 3, 2; 9, 2.
v	(4)	B	11, 3; 18, 2; 21, 3; 26, 3.
w	(11)	A	9, 3; 10, 5; 17, 5; 27, 3; 29, 5. B 2, 4; 10, 4; 13, 5; 16, 2; 23, 3; 28, 3.
x	(4)	A	13, 1. B 7, 3; 16, 4; 27, 3.
y	(4)	A	12, 5; 28, 3; 31, 3. B 12, 3.
z	(2)	A	23, 4. B 14, 2.
β	(6)	A	3, 2; 6, 2. B 2, 2; 20, 2; 24, 2; 30, 1.
δ	(6)	A	2, 1. B 5, 2; 10, 2; 13, 2; 13, 3; 25, 4.
ζ	(11)	A	12, 4; 14, 5; 18, 2; 20, 5; 27, 1. B 3, 3; 6, 2; 22, 3; 25, 2; 28, 4; 29, 3.

TABLE II—(*continued*).

η	(7)	A	14, 3; 20, 3. B 4, 2; 9, 4; 12, 2; 22, 4; 29, 4.
θ	(2)	A	17, 7; 29, 7.
κ	(1)	A	13, 2.
λ	(4)	A	14, 4; 20, 4; 28, 1; 31, 1.
μ	(1)	B	8, 1.
ξ	(17)	A	1, 2; 2, 3; 5, 2; 6, 4; 8, 2; 10, 2; 12, 2; 16, 2; 17, 2; 19, 2; 22, 2; 23, 2; 25, 3; 26, 2; 29, 2. B 1, 2; 5, 4.
π	(2)	B	17, 2; 27, 1.
ρ	(2)	B	6, 1; 14, 1.
σ	(12)	A	1, 5; 8, 4; 14, 6; 20, 6; 23, 6; 24, 2. B 6, 3; 8, 5; 14, 3; 23, 2; 25, 3; 27, 4.
τ	(3)	A	10, 4; 24, 4; 27, 2.
φ	(1)	A	7, 2.
χ	(5)	B	1, 3; 4, 1; 9, 1; 21, 1; 26, 1.
ψ	(1)	A	24, 3.
s	(6)	A	2, 2; 5, 4; 11, 3. B 1, 4; 10, 3; 11, 4.
F	(1)	B	9, 3.

TABLE III.

List of Initial Signs.

M	(19)	Always an initial sign.
a	(1)	A 11.
d	(2)	A 24. B 16.
h	(4)	B 10; 23; 24; 25.
k	(2)	A 9; 25.
l	(2)	A 18. B 5.
n	(8)	A 3; 4. B 13; 15; 18; 19; 20; 29.
p	(2)	A 15; 21.
s	(5)	A 6; 7. B 2; 12; 22.
t	(2)	A 30. B 7.
x	(1)	A 13.
β	(1)	B 30.
δ	(1)	A 2.
ζ	(1)	A 27.
λ	(2)	A 28; 31.
μ	(1)	B 8.
π	(1)	B 27.
ρ	(2)	B 6; 14.
χ	(4)	B 4; 9; 21; 26.

TABLE IV.

List of Final Signs.

a	(7)	A	15; 21; 26; 30. B 12; 15; 17.
c	(1)	B	3.
f	(4)	A	7. B 18; 21; 26.
h	(8)	A	3; 11. B 1; 20; 24; 27; 28; 30.
i	(1)	B	6.
l	(3)	A	5. B 7; 16.
m	(1)	A	4.
q	(3)	A	16; 19; 22.
s	(2)	A	23. B 4.
t	(1)	B	19.
w	(7)	A	9; 10; 27. B 2; 10; 13; 23.
y	(3)	A	12; 28; 31.
δ	(1)	B	25.
ζ	(1)	A	18.
η	(3)	B	9; 22; 29.
θ	(2)	A	17; 29.
κ	(1)	A	13.
ξ	(4)	A	2; 6; 25. B 5.
σ	(6)	A	1; 8[1]; 14; 20. B 8; 14.
τ	(1)	A	24.
ς	(1)	B	11.

TABLE V.

List of Recurring Combinations.

Mξ	A	1; 5; 8; 10; 12; 16; 17; 19; 22; 23; 26; 29. B 1. (Always initial signs.)			
ta	A	30		*ta*	
	B	7		*ta*	*xl*
	A	26	*Mξ*	*ta*	
	A	1	*Mξ*	*ta*	*σ*
	B	8	*μh*	*ta*	*σ*
xl	B	7	*ta*	*xl*	
	B	16	*dwj*	*xl*	

[1] This sign is followed by a lacuna.

TABLE V—(*continued*).

dw	B	16		*dw*	*jxl*
	B	28	*M*	*dw*	*ζh*
dσ	A	8	*Mξ*	*dσ*	(—)
	A	24		*dσ*	*ψτ*
βh	B	30		*βh*	
	A	3. B 20	*n*	*βh*	
	B	24	*h*	*βh*	
	A	6	*s*	*βh*	*ξ*
	B	2	*s*	*βh*	*w*
δs	A	2		*δs*	*ξ*
	B	10	*h*	*δs*	*w*
kq	A	9		*kq*	*w*
	A	25		*kq*	*ξ*
	A	16; 19; 22	*Mξ*	*kq*	
nm	A	4	*n*	*nm*	
	B	29		*nm*	*ζη*
mζη	B	29	*n*	*mζη*	
	B	22	*s*	*mζη*	
sh	A	11	*ar*	*sh*	
	B	1	*Mξχ*	*sh*	
nvhf	B	18		*nvhf*	
	B	21; 26	*χ*	*nvhf*	
sη	B	12		*sη*	*ya*
	A	14; 20	*M*	*sη*	*λζσ*
ζσ	A	14; 20	*Msηλ*	*ζσ*	
	B	6	*ρ*	*ζσ*	*i*
	B	25	*h*	*ζσ*	*δ*
δg	B	5	*l*	*δg*	*ξ*
	B	13	*nδ*	*δg*	*w*
τw	A	10	*Mξr*	*τw*	
	A	27	*ζ*	*τw*	

nβh	A	3. B 20	*Mξsswuθ*	A	17; 29
Msηλζσ	A	14; 20	*λey*	A	28; 31
pa	A	15; 21	*χnvhf*	B	21; 26
Mξkq	A	16; 19; 22			

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The New Past.

University of Pennsylvania, the University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section. Vol. I, No. 2: Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts, by H. F. Lutz. Vol. X, No. 4: Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms, by Prof. Stephen Langdon. Vol. XI, No. 3: List of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur, by Edward Chiera.

In the above three volumes the Pennsylvanian University Museum continues the publication of the fruits of its expedition to and discoveries at Nippur. Earlier volumes have previously been noticed in the *Quarterly Statement*, and it is hardly necessary to recapitulate how exceedingly instructive and valuable these volumes are for the light they are throwing upon the Ancient East. America is in a more fortunate position than other countries, owing to its wealthy men who are able and willing to finance the undertakings and publications which have made this new knowledge accessible; and American scholars are fully alive to the real living importance of these "antiquarian" researches for modern progressive aims.

Prof. James Henry Breasted, the well-known Egyptologist, has recently been impressing upon his hearers—and readers[1]—what we have to learn from "the New Past." He reminds us of Lord Acton's weighty judgment: "next to the discovery of the New World, the recovery of the ancient world is the second landmark that divides us from the Middle Ages and marks the transition to modern life." Now, as then, the forces that lead men on are a vision which can look both backward and forward. The inspiration which at the Renaissance was drawn from the past can be drawn again in fuller measure now. A newer past is being revealed, and while, on the one hand, it is demanding a new type of historian, on the other, as Prof. Breasted well says, the new vision of the past must have high

[1] Some of his lectures appear in *The Science Monthly* ("The Origin of Civilization"), *The University Record*, Vol. XI, Oct. ("The New Past"), and "*The Centenary Celebration of the Founding of the University of California*" (reprint).

moral value: "for who can see it and fail to feel the call to follow and to achieve in high endeavour the ultimate destiny of which the vision gives unequivocal promise." In the picture of man's past achievements and progress there is "a powerful stimulus to continue the great adventure on the highest plane"; and, he concludes, "I am convinced that this New Past, which we of this generation are the first to behold, may be made a great moral power among the youth of our land."

In taking Prof. Breasted's words for ourselves—for they have a universal application—we do well to remember that, whatever we find we gain in the way of new insight or new vision, rests ultimately upon the innumerable and often uninspiring pieces of work and fragmentary discoveries, none of which taken separately may seem to be of any human interest. We know now that we must have a wider judgment; and we are repeatedly realising that one can never tell what will be necessary for practical life and work in a few decades' time, and that the enquiry into the past is constantly contributing to our knowledge of what will be found invaluable and of immediate significance to-morrow or the next day. Thus not only has such knowledge of the past proved invaluable for the recent campaigns in the East, and, more recently, for the practical problems of Zionism, but Prof. Breasted is among those who fail to understand why the Allies ignored the teaching of history and did not land troops at the north-east corner of the Mediterranean. "To those familiar with the military and naval history of this region it will always remain an unsolved enigma why her [England's] plan of campaign so completely ignored the very decisive experience of ancient commanders in this region." But, apart from such examples, the fact remains that in some excavation, in some piece of pottery or masonry, in some apparently useless text, we slowly make up a new picture or correct an old one, and gain a general knowledge which would have been impossible without the initial labour of collecting the straw which went to make the bricks.

Of the three volumes before us, the selected Sumerian and Babylonian texts include a prayer to Marduk on the occasion of an eclipse, a fine hymn to the sun-god, and various incantations and exorcisms. Among the tablets of more general interest is a school-exercise consisting of disconnected sentences in Sumerian, with interlinear translation in Akkadian; *e.g.*, "it was not in order to eat food that he took off the garment," "not for the sake of my

guarding did I not sleep all night," "drive ye out the dog!" etc., etc. Moreover, there is a letter appealing for an interview, an appeal to a sister to care for a child, a caretaker's letter to his master, the dismissal of a watchman, and various royal and legal letters.

Prof. Langdon's volume of Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms is of special interest for his remarks on the religious significance of the Nippur texts, whose bearing upon the early origin of Hebrew religion has already been recognised. Thus, one is a "hymn to the god-man Dungi, in which he is described as the divinely-born king who was sent by the gods to restore the lost Paradise." There are also liturgical texts belonging to the cults of deified kings. The liturgical worship of the late Sumerian period was extremely elaborate, and the services were adopted by the Babylonians and Assyrians as canonical, and were employed in interlinear editions. As regards some of the earlier liturgical compilations, Prof. Langdon points out that this form of prayer service preceded and prepared the way for the greatest system of musical ritual in any ancient religion. Each of the great gods had his service, and the tendency was to include in all "a song to the wrathful Word of the gods and a song to the sorrowful earth-mother." He adds: "I need not dilate here upon the great influence which these principles exercised upon the beliefs and formal worship of Assyria and Babylonia, upon the late Jewish Church and upon Christianity. The personified word of the god and the worship of the great *mater dolorosa*, or the virgin goddess, are ancient Sumerian creations whose influence has been effective in all lands." One most interesting breviary, which probably belongs to the cult of the moon-god, derives its importance from its great length, its theological ideas, especially the mention of the messengers which attend "the Logos, or Word of Enlil, and its principles." Each song here has an antiphon.

Among the most interesting groups of religious texts furnished by the excavations at Nippur are those which illumine "the institution of god-man worship," and show the place of the cult of deified kings in the religion. In this reference it may be noticed that Prof. Langdon comments upon one "remarkable lacuna" in the old Sumerian religion, namely, the prayers of private cults, the literature of individual religion, such as we find in later Babylonian religion, where the penitential psalms are Sumerian and for private use. He considers their absence in the temple library of Nippur

absolutely inexplicable, and an enigma. But to this it may be said, first, that the temple, the centre of communal worship, is hardly the place for the private religious objects (tablets, etc., etc.). We know that there was a general tendency for the old official religions to discountenance private worship; even silent and private prayer has been condemned on that account. In addition to this, there has also been a certain democratisation in the development of religion, and what was once associated with a few or with the group as a whole is afterwards associated with the individual alone. This can be seen in Egypt where, first, the all-important Pharaoh *must* outlive death, so vital an individual *cannot*, *must not* die. But gradually the life after death is explicitly extended until every man can become an Osiris. The transition is seen in other ways in Babylonia; but the principle remains the same. At first the king is the great individual, he represents the individual group; for him and through him usages arise which from time to time spread through the whole community and are taken over by or applied to individuals. Again and again we can recognise the traces of this "democratisation," and it is therefore not surprising that the penitential psalms of the individual Babylonian had their prototype in those for the great Sumerian individual—the king.

Finally, Chiera's lists of personal names, confined to those in Sumerian, contains a number of valuable remarks upon the Sumerian and Akkadian nomenclature. It is observed that in the names composed of noun *plus* verb the Semitic verbal form generally precedes the noun, while in Sumerian the verbal form always comes last—both types are found in Hebrew, *e.g.*, Jerahmeel, Ishmael, etc., and Elishama, Jonathan, etc. Further, Sumerian names are sometimes taken bodily out of existing literature and abbreviated. Names containing attributes of gods or recording facts or expressing wishes thus read strangely when out of their context, *e.g.*, . . . the servant of "May the Lord live for my sake" . . . , . . . the lady of "How long her lord . . . ?" Throughout the translator has to be on his guard. One lengthy name consists of sixteen groups of signs, and when long names were abbreviated by the scribes they preserved that element which appeared to be sufficiently representative of the complete name.

All the Sumerian names are religious in character, and many of them state the worshipper's relation to the deity; others praise the deity's special attributes. The deity is often the chief god or

goddess of the city or of the individual; but many names are compounded with *nin* and refer to The Lady (Ninni) *par excellence*. The old scribes in compiling lists of names would begin with the object of worship, *e.g.*, street, and then enumerated the large street, the holy street, etc. This tendency towards systematisation is very interesting. Sometimes the scribes classified according to similarity of meaning, similarity or identity of divine attribute, identity of the first sign or the last sign, and so forth. Altogether it is interesting to see upon what principles these scribes proceeded in order to classify material, if only for the fact that the problem of finding the most scientific way of arranging data of whatever sort is always presenting itself to us. That the names themselves are of importance for the light they throw upon earlier religions and related beliefs needs no telling; but it is of no little interest to see in these ancient tablets how man began to attempt to systematise and classify; how, in fact, he began to lay the foundations of methodical enquiry. In the mental processes of the old Sumerians we see the rudimentary forms of our sciences, and it is not unimportant to trace the path of mental development from the earliest times to the present day, and plot the curve which the human mind has been taking.

Finally it will be noticed that these and other similar discoveries are consistently enhancing the debt of civilisation to the non-Semitic Sumerians. The problem of the Semites and their culture is thus being set upon another plane, and the immense influence exercised by Persians upon Islam, not to mention other cases of Persian influence, appears to find a forerunner in the earlier debt of Semites to these strange folk who entered Sumer.

S. A. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Walls of Gaza.—Prof. Garstang's paper in the last issue interested me greatly, and especially its final statement "that the town Gaza really occupies the site of the historical fenced city of Antiquity." I published the same view, based substantially on the same evidence that Prof. Garstang presents, in the second volume of my *Nippur* (p. 356) in 1897: "I had the good fortune to discover at the base of a mound, supposed to be a natural hill, near a mosque in the outskirts of Gaza, an ancient wall of unbaked brick. The entire mound proved to be composed of debris. This seemed to show that the modern town of Gaza occupied the site of the ancient city. I have no doubt that excavations in this mound would result in interesting discoveries."

In the summer of 1890 I was the guest of the Church Missionary Society in Gaza. I had recently come from two years' work of excavation in Babylonia, which had made me very familiar with ruin mounds and mud brick walls. The day before I had visited Tell Ḥesy and studied Petrie's work, his scraping down of the steep side of the hill, and the walls and debris thus exposed. My friend took me to visit the Sheikh of a mosque, the Jâmi' es-Said Ḫâshim, if I remember the name correctly, on a hill at the north-western edge of the town. The Sheikh took us out to show us around the fairly extensive grounds of the mosque. Standing on the edge of the steep hill looking east and north, I observed a landslide below me which had exposed the whole side of the hill at that point, very much as Petrie's scraping had exposed the strata on the side of the mound of el-Ḥesy. In my excitement I unceremoniously precipitated myself down the hill. At the bottom there was a small piece of mud brick wall laid bare, and the entire hill above was debris. From the character of the wall, and its position under many strata it was clearly very old. I could not make a detailed examination at the time, and my attempts to make arrangements for private sondations unfortunately fell through. At that period the "authorities" located ancient Gaza on the shore about three miles from the present site. What I had seen of this mound, supported by my observations of the region about, convinced me that the "authorities" were wrong, and Gaza right.

Revisiting the site this spring, I told the Governor, Maj. Mills, of my experience of thirty years before and my conclusions. I found that the wall was still exposed, although the scar on the hill above it was long since healed, and skinned over, that he recognized it as evidence of the existence of the old town at that site, and that a few tentative borings had been made, with the results which Prof. Garstang has described. The place is most promising for excavation, with a fair chance of elucidating in some measure the Philistine problem.

Conferring with Père Gatt, who knows Gaza and the Philistine country better than any other man, I found him familiar with the wall, and that he had long since reached the conclusion that the modern Gaza occupies the ancient site, but that Askalon and Ashdod, as well as Gaza, lay in the early Philistine period not directly on the coast but about three miles back, just across the sand-dunes. Gaza and Ashdod are so situated to-day, but the ruins of Askalon are directly on the coast. However, just over the dunes is Mejdel, a name which suggests an ancient town. This Père Gatt suggested to me might represent the site of the early Philistine settlement, Askalon of the newer town.[1] My examination of the region has caused this suggestion to seem plausible, and I hope that Prof. Garstang will arrange to make some examination of the region behind the dunes at Askalon.

[1] It is worthy of note that in a similar way behind Joppa lies Dagan or Beit Dejan.

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Nov. 10, 1920.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ	p
ה	h	פ ף	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	ש	sh
י	y	ש	s
כ	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting will be held at the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries in the latter part of June, at a date which will be announced later.

NOTES AND NEWS.

A good deal of progress has been made in the opening out of Askalon, and in the arduous labour of clearing away the accumulation of earth and débris. Owing to the rainy season excavations had to cease, and Prof. Garstang returned to England for a short time. He is now back again and the work is being energetically resumed. Prof. Garstang lectured in Cambridge, Oxford, Liverpool and Leeds on the excavations, and everywhere his illustrated account of the success already achieved was received with the keenest interest. After giving some account of the Philistines as known from the monuments, he showed slides of the various ruins of ancient Askalon, the indications of great buildings, and the many possibilities which the site offered of throwing much needed light upon questions of significance for the early history of Palestine, for the archaeology of the ancient Levant, and for the deeper study of the Bible. To continue this work as the importance of the place demands, a further and steady increase of funds is very urgently needed, and it is hoped that every subscriber will do his or her best to increase the income of the Society, especially by enlisting new subscribers. This country has in many ways a very special interest in Palestine, and the excavation of the ancient and famous city of the Philistines by the parent society of Palestinian exploration and excavation is an undertaking in which that interest can show itself most immediately.

It may be useful to note here the new frontier between Syria and Palestine according to the Anglo-French Agreement of Dec. 23. According to *The Times* (Dec. 28, whose authority is the *Temps*), it begins at the Ras Nakura (the "Ladder of Tyre") and follows the watershed, leaving Kalat Kurain (the Crusaders' Montfort) in Palestine. Turning north it follows the watershed to Metullah, the most northern Jewish colony, and passes east to include Banias (Caesarea Philippi). It goes down the Wadi Jerabiyeh to the Sea of Galilee, incorporating in Palestine both sides of the Upper Jordan. From Semakh at the south end of the Lake it runs west and south along the east bank of the Jordan to the mouth of the Yarmuk, and then along the southern border of that river, so that Deraa (Edrei) and Bosra (Bostra) are included in Syria. The Syrian frontier runs from Deraa to Nasib, "thence to Intar and north-east to the nearest point of the Euphrates at Abu Kemal, 50 miles west of Anah; then it runs to Rumeilan Keui so as to leave all the western Khabur to Syria and Sinjar to Mesopotamia, and thence to the nearest point of the Tigris, about 70 miles north-west of Mosul. The eastern frontier of Syria runs up the Tigris as far as Jeziret-Ibn-Omar, when it joins the Turkish frontier laid down in the Treaty of Sèvres."

The *British Journal of Photography* (Jan. 14) in an article on Air Photography notes its value for mapping large Eastern towns with their tortuous and narrow streets. It refers to the survey of Palestine by the Palestine Exploration Fund (by Kitchener, Conder, and others), and to the way in which this served as a framework for the new aerial maps. The writer, Mr. H. S. L. Winterbotham, considers that air-photo surveys cannot give us cadastral plans, and, except within small areas, cannot take the place of triangulation; on the other hand, he thinks air-photography has many openings, among them the plans of archaeological sites. The writer does not give any illustration of this last statement, but anyone who has seen a reproduction of the ruins of Baalbek as viewed from above will at once see how extremely helpful and stimulating such a view can be for a better understanding of the disposition of the old temple.

The Jerusalem correspondent of *The Times* (Dec. 29) states that it has been resolved to found a college for Arab language and science in Jerusalem. Later, it is reported from Jerusalem (Feb. 22) that a Rabbinical Congress was opened for the reconstitution

of the old Superior Court. It "is considered to be the greatest event since the destruction of the Sanhedrin, and the speech of Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner, is regarded by the Jewish press as equalling in importance the first appeal of Nehemiah after the return from the Babylonian Captivity."

The following meteorological notes are taken from *Palestine* (Feb. 5) and the *Palestine Weekly* (Feb. 18):—

"The meteorological observatory of the Hebrew Teachers' College gives the following brief review of atmospheric conditions in Jerusalem during the months of November and December. The first rains fell in Jerusalem on November 10 and on the 12th, yielding 71.5 mm., which exceeded the average quantity of first rains in Jerusalem. In general the month of November had an ample rainfall. During the eight days of rain a total of 122.3 mm. was obtained. The second rainfall came somewhat late, and December was comparatively poor in rains—the total coming up to 64.4 mm. There were twelve rainy days with but slight rainfall. December 19 witnessed the heaviest rainfall, with 13.4 mm. of rain. Because of their comparative weakness, the rains did not fall in streams over the surface, but penetrated deep into the soil to the satisfaction of the agriculturists. During the first days of January there were 16.6 mm. of rain, the total approximating to one-third of the average yearly fall of rain in Jerusalem, which is 600 mm."

"January was rich in rains. During the fifteen days of rain there was a total of 200.5 mm. Heavy rain commenced on January 23 and continued on January 24, yielding 74 mm. Between the rainy days the skies were clear, the fields thus enjoying alternate rainfall and sunshine. The crops are successful. Especially promising are the almond plantations. Only once during the month—on January 27—did the temperature come down to 0. The total rainfall for November, December, and January is 377 mm."

Mr. Read's discussion of the interpretation of the Phaestos disk in the last *Quarterly Statement* has aroused some interest, and several letters have reached us with questions and in some cases with new suggestions. It will be remembered that Mr. Read minutely examined the character of the writing, analysed the arrangement

of the signs, and subjected the current interpretations to a close criticism. Finally, he drew attention to the suggestion of Sir Arthur Evans that "it follows the laws of a primitive music," and, passing from his conjecture that "it may well represent some kind of chaunt or incantation," Mr. Read tentatively asked whether it might not be a veritable piece of music, and so the oldest piece of music in the world. It is for the expert in primitive and ancient music to pronounce upon the *a priori* reasonableness of the suggestion. Meanwhile, one correspondent suggests that it would be helpful if every character upon the disk were called by some brief and intelligible name. The merely conventional letters employed in Fig. 3 (after Prof. Macalister) are certainly confusing for some readers, one or two of whom mistook them for identifications, and expressed surprise that *w* was known in the age to which the Disk is ascribed. These letters are merely conventional in order to facilitate reference, and accordingly Mr. James Simpson (Edinburgh) writes to suggest names more or less in harmony with what each sign apparently represents. Thus for the top line of Fig. 3, reading from left to right, he proposes the following names: helm (for helmet), haste, hands, boy, dame, head, foot, jug and cat. There is much to be said for this, and it remains to be seen whether it is taken up. Mr. Simpson also urges that the symbols are to be read from left to right, contrary to Dr. Della Seta's conclusion, but a closer examination of the data makes this view a very difficult one. He points out further, that the symbol σ, which he would call a "square," is never over 90°, and once (B 6) many degrees less, which "shows the use of more than one stamp for that symbol, unless perchance it was pressed slopingly." He comments upon the sharp facial angle and lines of the female figure *d*, and lays emphasis upon the relative number of times that each symbol occurs, pointing out that if we add the missing symbol in A 8 the total number of signs amounts to 242, or $11 \times 11 \times 2$. In A 28 and 31 the faces show a larger facial angle than any of the other human forms (130°–135°)—"do they perhaps show the features of prisoners taken from another nation?" The marks upon their cheeks, too, deserve explanation. Are they original? Finally, Mr. Simpson comments upon the civilisation implied by the symbols, and notably the boat (η). To this it may be added that the form of the bow (κ) is also well worthy of attention from the archaeological point of view.

The Rev. John Griffith has also sent suggestions which, however,

are too complicated to be more than briefly mentioned. He urges that the solution of the Disk may be mathematical. He draws attention to the measurements of early temples and the recurrence of numbers and multiples of numbers which correspond to the number of signs in the faces of the Disk. With the 123 signs in Face A (*i.e.*, counting the blank in A 8) he compares the lengths of the enclosure of the temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias (370 ft. or 123 × 3). He notes the tradition (Clodd, *Pioneers of Evolution*, p. 50) that Adam and Eve were respectively 123¾ feet and 118¾ feet in height, while Faces A and B have respectively 123 and 119 signs. The numbers indicate ancient astronomical measures, the idea being that celestial spaces could be marked off in terms of the human body, just as in old-fashioned almanacs the zodiac is described as a human body. Mr. Griffith also comments upon the part played by 11—the total number of signs is 242, a multiple of 11, and the mean of 123 and 119 is 121, the square of 11. "The alleged copy of the Cretan Labyrinth at Lucca Cathedral describes 11 walks." Space does not permit us to refer at greater length to the useful remarks and ingenious suggestions with which he and others of our correspondents have kindly favoured us. Even if they do not reveal the mystery of the Disk they indicate possibilities which will be carefully considered, and they testify to the interest which the famous object continues to arouse.

A contribution on the subject from Prof. Macalister reaches us too late for the present issue.

The Committee would be very glad if subscribers would be disposed to present to the Fund sets or volumes of the *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine* and also of the *Quarterly Statement*.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important

names and sites. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Committee have brought out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in two large sheets, and is, primarily, a traveller's map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete map is 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen to fold, 15*s.* 6*d.* Subscriber's price, 6*s.* unmounted and 13*s.* mounted; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 70–71.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries. The Rev. J. W. Hunkin, O.B.E., M.C., M.A., Dean of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, has consented to act for Cambridge and W. B. Gillespie, Esq., of 37, Parkfield Road, for Liverpool.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Members are reminded that subscriptions are payable in advance and are now due for 1921.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special donations towards the Askalon excavations:—

	£	s.	d.
Robert L. Mond, Esq.	20	0	0
Right Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel... ...	10	0	0
Miss Johnstone	3	0	0
H. Pirie-Gordon, Esq., D.S.O., M.A. ...	2	2	0
Rev. Dr. W. Emery Barnes	2	2	0
F. Coop, Esq.	1	1	0
Cecil White, Esq....	1	1	0

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1920 is published in the Annual Report, issued with this number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 7*s.* 6*d.*, by post 8*s.*

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street. Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Mr. E. J. Pilcher has presented to the Museum electrotypes of three "large brass" coins of APAMEIA CIBOTUS (*i.e.*, "Apameia of the Ark"), commemorating the Sybilline legend that Mount Ararat was situated in Phrygia, and that the ark rested near the town of Apameia.

Septimius Severus,	Macrinus,	Philip the Elder,
A.D. 193–211.	A.D. 217.	A.D. 244–249.

The gift is accompanied by copies of his brochure on these coins—"The Jews of the Dispersion in Roman Galatia." (Reprint from the *Proceedings of the S.B.A.*, May, 1903.)

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

From E. J. Pilcher, Esq. :—

Mesopotamia : Historical Section of the Foreign Office, Handbook No. 36.

Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia, 1920, by Miss Gertrude L. Bell, C.B.E.

From Miss Estelle Blyth :—

The Temple of Mut in Asher, by Margaret Benson and Janet Gourlay, 1899.

From the Zionist Organisation :—

Zionism : Problems and Views, by Paul Goodman and A. D. Lewis.

England and Palestine, by Herbert Sidebotham.

Palestine : The Organ of the British Palestine Committee, Vol. VI, August, 1919, to February, 1920.

From the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge :—

The Pilgrim in Jerusalem, by the Rev. O. H. Parry, M.A.

From Mrs. Harcourt Wood :—

The Holy Land and the Bible. Vol. I. By Cunningham Geikie, D.D.

From the University of Glasgow :—

Studia Semitica et Orientalia, by Seven Members of the Glasgow University Oriental Society. 1920. See p. 102.

The Near East : a Weekly Review of current Politics and Commerce. Feb. 17 : Moslem Women of Jerusalem, by Estelle Blyth ; Feb. 24 : Village Water-supply in Palestine.

Nile and Jordan, an Archaeological History of the Interrelations between Egypt and Palestine from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, with 5 maps, appendices, and three indexes. 572 pages. By G. A. Frank Knight, M.A., F.R.S.E. Clarke & Co. 36*s*.

Studies: Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science, Dec. 1920: Palestinian Customs as Illustrating the Bible, by Dr. E. Power, S.J.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, Jan. 1921.

The Palestine Weekly.

Palestine: The Organ of the British Palestine Committee.

Zionist Review, March: On the Palestine Mandate.

Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1920.

Journal Asiatique, July–Sept.: Seconde Session de la Fédération des Sociétés Orientales, Paris, 6–8 July.

Die Palästina-Literatur: eine internationale bibliographie, Vol. III, 1910–1914 (Leipzig, 1916).

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, 1920, Aug.–Oct.

Al-Mashrik: Dec., The New Names of Streets in Beirut, by P. L. Cheikho, etc.

Jan. 1921: Eras and Calendars of the World, by P. L. Cheikho, S.J.; Sacrifices among the Bedouins of the Trans-Jordan, the Abbé Paul Salman; The First Relations between France and Syria, P. H. Lammens, S.J.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Dec., 1920: Gilgamesh and Engidu, by W. F. Albright.

American Journal of Archaeology, Oct.–Dec. 1920: Primitive Aegean Roofs, by Leicester B. Holland.

American Journal of Philology, XLI, 4.

Art and Archaeology, Feb. 1921.

The Homiletic Review, 1921.

Journal of Religion, Vol. I, No. 1.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, Jan., 1921: The Religion of Josephus, by Prof. Montgomery; The Book of Esther in the light of history, by Dr. J. Hoschander.

See also pp. 101–107.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

Plate I.

ASKALON
WELL
BAB GAZA
BAB YAFA
BAB EL QUDS
WALLS
PRE ROMAN
ROMAN
BYZANTINE
ARAB
CRUSADER
MODERN
Scale : Metres

THE EXCAVATION OF ASKALON, 1920–1921.

PROF. GARSTANG reports that there is little to add to the account which was given in the *Quarterly Statement* for January. In Field 61 various walls of the Temple of Fortune were linked up before the season closed, and further architectural details were examined, but it is still not possible to give a final opinion as to the precise form, style and character of the great building which is gradually coming to light. The special feature at its southern end, where the Peace Pool and surrounding theatre take the place of the more usual portico, remains also to be examined in greater detail. The marble flooring of the original structure and some of the original seats of the theatre around are amongst the latest discoveries unearthed. Objects of sculpture include the lower half of a life-sized Apollo.

A photograph of Field 61 is reproduced, giving a general view of the excavations from the south.

Meanwhile, further excavation has been made of the pottery fragments from the section-cutting in the northern escarpment where Field 187 descends to Field 183. See Fig. 2. The excavators are satisfied that it is possible from these results, and at this place, to isolate and distinguish the pottery of the Philistine period. Some few fragments have been brought to England for study, and greatly interested the Members of the Committee. There was no unanimity as to any real affinity with the pottery fragments of other areas. The apparent relationships ranged from Susa to Crete, but the

general tenor of comment shows that Cypriote influences predominate. The Committee agreed with the excavator that, having got upon this scent with a Philistine house coming to view, this track should not be left, so that when work resumes in April, it will be largely concentrated along this escarpment, embodying the Fields 183, 182, 161, 187, 188 and 169, with a new plan of work derived from the experiences gained. Meanwhile the excavation of the Tycheion in Field 61, and of the very remarkable theatre which abuts upon it in Field 67, will be methodically completed. The Bîr Ibrahîm, No. 88, will be examined and search will be continued for the necropolis of Philistine period, which has hitherto eluded the excavators.

A new plan of the site of Askalon has been prepared by Prof. Garstang and students of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and is issued with this number. The following details should be noticed:—

In *Field No.* 1 are Roman foundations.

In *Field No.* 5 is the Byzantine Church, which encroaches upon Fields Nos. 24 and 7.

In *Field No.* 85 and Point IX are Crusaders' ruins.

In *Field No.* 86 are standing remains of a Crusaders' Church.

In *Field No.* 88 is traditionally located the Bîr Ibrahîm.

In *Field No.* 61 is the Temple of Fortune, or Tycheion, or some other public building, with the Peace Pool at its southern end, surrounded by a theatre which encroaches on the roadway and Field 67.

From *Field No.* 51 were taken, in former days, a number of stout granite columns, now mostly lying near the cross-roads. These may indicate a temple of Jupiter disclosed by Lady Hester Stanhope's cursory examination.

[*To face p.* 74.

Fig. 1.—The "Tyche" Field 61 with a general view of the excavations from the south.

Fig. 2.—Northern scarp of Field 187.

Points I to IX on the site, and X, XI on the seashore, indicate survey points used in this new triangulation. The walls upon the ramparts seem to be largely of Byzantine origin, repaired by both Moslems and Crusaders in later days. Mounds on which these stand seem to indicate the ramparts of much earlier times. The central mound abutting on the sea seems to have been the more primitive settlement. The rising ground in the north of the enclosure remains to be examined, and may prove to contain early remains.

HISTORY OF ASKALON.[1]

By W. J. Phythian-Adams.

The sea coast of Palestine may be called one of the curiosities of the world. Its long, pitiless sweep from the Egyptian frontier to Carmel is familiar to all to whom this land is holy, and its chief characteristic is plain, so to speak, upon its face. It has no natural harbour.

But what we do not see from a map is quite as important. We do not see those waves, so calm and glass-like yesterday, to-day grinding the shore with almost malevolent force, changing from week to week the hidden sand-banks which they pile or wantonly destroy. We do not see that sudden gale from the west which makes this lee-shore so perilous to the sailor. The coast of Palestine is not merely unfriendly to harbours; it devours them.

For a brief period man has struggled against this foe; towns like Gaza, Ashdod and Yebna, each at one time had its haven on the coast, but there are only four harbour-cities which have risen of themselves to fame; they are Askalon, Dora, Cæsarea and Joppa, and of these only the last-named survives. On such a coast we have to ask ourselves why any one point rather than another should be selected as a port, and to this we shall probably find a ready answer. Primitive man in his search for fresh water over the parched plains of Philistia found it sometimes where he least expected it, on the seashore. One such oasis amongst the sand-dunes stands on the very brink of the Mediterranean some 12 miles north of Gaza. Its wells to this day can be counted by scores. Here you will find palms and hedgerows, fields green with cultivation and bounteous with grateful shade. This Paradise is Askalon.

The history of this famous site extends from about 1370 B.C. to 1270 A.D., and during the whole of that period it has preserved its name. There are few cities which can rival a record such as this,

[1] Lecture delivered at British School of Archaeology, on November 1st, 1920.

and there are few, indeed, which can show such a pageant of conquerors or friends. Rameses and Merneptah, Samson, Sargon, and Sennacherib, the Maccabæan Jonathan, Herod the Great, Omar, Baldwin, Saladin and Richard Cœur de Lion, all these have played their part in the long-drawn destinies of Askalon. To-day under the moonlight she lies sand-encircled and empty, and the jackals call to one another over the dust of her departed glories.

These ruins wear a veil of mystery. Who first constructed that vast amphitheatre of walls which flings out its arms to bar the encroaching sand? Who mixed that mortar of shells and lime which binds the masonry into one concrete mass, so that the old chronicler could say of it "the cement outlives the hardness of the very stone"? That marble pavement showing its edge where a terrace has cut sheer through the débris of centuries, is it the memorial of a pagan temple, or of a Christian basilica, or perhaps of that great Mosque which stood in the "market of the clothes-merchants" in the city "spacious and opulent," whose "wares were excellent," and whose marts were thronged with buyers? Columns and capitals, statues, bronzes and coins, all these in Askalon have been the spoil of the explorer, and beneath the ruins of Moslem and Greek and Roman still lurks the deeper mystery of the Philistines and of that earlier race which Rameses overthrew.

The history of Askalon is divided naturally into two parts, which we may be allowed to call her lives; and it is with these, her earliest known inhabitants, that the record of her first existence must begin. Whether the site was inhabited in Neolithic times is yet uncertain. When Ikhnaton, the heretic Pharaoh, reigned about 1375 B.C., Iskaluna was a city and her king, Yitia, corresponded in Babylonian cuneiform with his master. In the welter of treachery and rebellion which saw for a time the end of Egyptian rule in Syria, Yitia rivalled his brother princes in his protestations of loyalty to the suzerain: he kisses his feet; he bows himself seven times and seven times to the ground; he is sending tribute; he is providing the food necessary for Pharaoh's army; all this and much more can be read in the famous letters of Tell el-Amarna.

The vassal king of Jerusalem viewed the matter otherwise and roundly accuses Yitia of having made league with Gezer and Lachish to give succour and supplies to the Khabiru invaders.

If these Khabiru were, as some think, the early Hebrews of Mosaic times, this last suggestion is of special interest. After

her capture by the Philistines, Askalon was always a bitter enemy of the Jews and came into conflict with them on many occasions throughout her career.

We do not know to what race these first Askalonites belonged; the name of their king suggests that they were Semitic Canaanites; and their bearded faces on the reliefs of Rameses II seem to corroborate this hypothesis. Their link with the Amorites of Gezer and Lachish may have been founded on something more than common interest, but the solution of this whole question must be left to the spade. Like their successors, they showed a fierce repugnance to a foreign yoke, and in their early struggles against the Egyptians, we seem to have a forecast of that spirit which made Askalon a free town under the Roman Empire.

Under the strong hand of Rameses II (thirteenth century B.C.), the city sprang once more to arms. "The wretched city which His Majesty captured, when it rebelled, Askalon." It says "'It is joy to be subject to thee!'"—so says His Majesty on the walls of Karnak. We can imagine what Askalon said when he was gone. The accession of a new Pharaoh, harassed by such perils from the sea as Egypt had never faced before, gave this restive city a new opportunity and brought yet another defeat. It appears on the famous Israel stele of Merneptah in this passage: "Plundered is Pekanan; carried off is Askalon, seized upon is Gezer, Yenoam is made as a thing of nought; Israel is desolated, his seed is not!" Once again Askalon seems to have joined with her old friend Gezer, but it was for the last time.

The People of the Seas, amongst whom were the Purisatu, came swarming southwards by land and sea with ships and wagons, cattle, women and children. The details of that deluge are all unknown to us, but from about this time (for on even this point we are ignorant), Askalon becomes a city of the Philistines.

We enter here a period of profound darkness in the city's history. The origin of the Philistines is itself wrapped in mystery, though we shall not go far wrong if we attribute to them some of that ancient culture which once radiated from Crete throughout the Ægean Sea. More tantalizing than this uncertainty is the absence of historical evidence for that occupation of the Holy Land which has given us the name *Palestine*. The Old Testament references reveal nothing; one incident only is recorded of a collision with Askalon, when Samson is related to have slain thirty of its men-

folk. That it was always a bitter foe we may infer from the Song of David. Within its walls the glorious news of Saul's defeat and death would be retailed with special zest. "Tell it not in the streets of Askalon."

Perhaps stranger still is the lack of reference to its position as a port. While Dor (now Tantura) made itself famous or infamous for its piracy, as the story of the luckless Wen-Amon tells us, we hear nothing of the ships of Askalon, nor is there any allusion to them in the Bible. But, more than this, in the city's war with Sidon, as related by Scylax, a war which coincides with the period we are discussing, it is distinctly stated that the Askalonites attacked by land, and that the besieged, driven to extremities, eventually removed themselves to Tyre, a feat impossible if their enemies held the sea.

The extent of Israel's domain under David and Solomon is another source of perplexity. A guarded reference in the First Book of Kings suggests that Askalon was among the tribute-bearers to Jerusalem, but the fact that Gezer lying so near the mountains was not at first in Solomon's hands and in the end was captured not by that monarch but by the Pharaoh, must give us food for reflection. The officers detailed in the early part of the same chapter (IV), were none of them appointed to a Philistine city, and it is more probable that at this era the maritime plain was under the suzerainty of Egypt.

When the storm of Assyrian invasion swept over Askalon the city seems to have submitted for a time to its new masters; but in 703 B.C. we find a change of dynasty had taken place within its walls, and when Sennacherib recaptured the rebel town, he had to restore his vassal to the throne. "Sidka, King of Askalon, did not submit to me. . . . I carried him away to Assyria. I placed on the throne of Askalon Sharludari, son of Rakibti, who had been king before him." It is a faint light, this, which comes to us from the famous prism of Sennacherib, but it is enough to show that the spirit of the city had been preserved immutable as its name.

About 630 B.C. a new deluge burst upon the Near East and shook the foundations of the older civilizations. The Scythians, pouring over the Caucasus from the Eur-Asian steppes, threatened to engulf culture, religion, and the little luxuries of life in one colossal wave of barbarism. Herodotus tells us that some of them sacked the famous temple of the Celestial Aphrodite at Askalon, and,

smitten for their sacrilege with a sore disease, retreated in dismay to their northern homes. Here once again an indirect light is thrown on the city's past. This goddess, whose temple was said to be the most ancient of its kind, was either identical, or at least associated, with the Fish-goddess Derceto, who possessed "not far from" Askalon a temple and a lake "wide and deep and full of fishes," which were sacred like the doves of Semiramis, and under a strict "taboo."

That the dove taboo existed in the city itself is known to us from various sources (Philo., Euseb. Praep. Ev.), while Diodorus Siculus states the connection between the two goddesses in his tale of Derceto's remorseful death and the subsequent history of her daughter Semiramis. Another variation related the joint destruction of Derceto and her son Ichtys (fish) in the sacred lake.

The same myth of Mother and Daughter and the same double taboo existed from ancient times at Hierapolis (now Membij), in North Syria. There, too, as at Askalon we find the two sacred places kept markedly distinct, the temple dedicated to the goddess of human shape and "not far from it" the pool, full of sacred fishes to which she and her male consort descended on certain festivals in solemn procession. We may, perhaps, find this male divinity under the form of Dagon on the Phœnician plain. A late writer (Jerome), attributes him impartially to "Askalon, Gaza, and the rest of the Philistine cities," although he is more familiar to us as the god "par excellence" of Ashdod. Be this as it may, the existence of these ancient Semitic deities, and especially the obvious identity of Derceto at Askalon and Atargatis at Hierapolis, show us that the Philistines can have interfered little with the culture of the people whom they conquered, or rather that they had gradually been absorbed themselves by the customs and traditions of the land, losing even their own language as their life grew rooted in the soil.

The succeeding centuries were for Askalon, as for the whole of the Near East, a succession of bewildering changes. Psammetichus and Necho the Second gave place to the Persian, under whose rule the city passed into the hands of the Phœnicians. A brief interlude, and then the coming of the West, the conquest and death of Alexander, and the rule of the Ptolemies, which lasted until 218 B.C.

This period in which the fortunes of Askalon began to soar is interesting for the light which it throws on its later association with Egypt. Its first coins, which begin at about this date, show a

youthful figure *with a trident*, perhaps the eponymous hero, Askalos. Later the city becomes a mint for the Ptolemies, as later still for the Seleucidæ. The two facts are intimately connected. Askalon has become a port large enough to attract the wealth of nations to her quays, but the fluctuating fortunes of the Nile Valley and the Delta harbours will be the dominant factor in her career. Two incidents which belong to these centuries, before the advent of Rome, illustrate the unquenchable pride of her inhabitants. Under Ptolemy Euergetes (if we may credit Josephus), the city offered resistance to Joseph, a nephew of the High Priest Onias, who knocked at its gates with 2,000 men at his back and demanded its taxes for the Pharaoh. The result of this revolt was the capture and slaughter of twenty of the principal men and the confiscation of their goods, a method of procedure which paralyzed Scythopolis and the rest of the country, and commended itself highly to the royal master at Memphis. The second incident is less striking but equally significant. On a coin dated 168 B.C. we read the legend Askalonitôn Dêmou: "of the people of Askalon." It is impossible to say whether this bold innovation was by permission, or in defiance, of the Seleucid kings.

During the Jewish revolt under the Maccabees the Askalonites played for safety. When Jonathan (147 B.C.), marched on the city after his victory over Apollonius at Ashdod, they appeared at their gates with hospitable presents for the conqueror. This action probably saved their venerable shrines, which seemed likely to share the fate of Dagon's temple in the neighbouring city. Jonathan, indeed, had become too formidable a figure to challenge, and Askalon was content to follow his lead when Gaza, less prudent if more vigorous, was forced to contemplate her land overrun, and her hamlets burned to the ground. The city by the sea could afford to bide her time; her harbour yawned invitingly, and deliverance was already on the horizon of the West.

At the death of Alexander Jannæus, in 78 B.C., a list of Phœnician and Idumæan towns in the possession of the Jews comprises Joppa, Jammia, Ashdod and Gaza. Of these two areas the Phœnician and Idumæan, Askalon, the future birthplace of Herod the Great, belonged by nature to the second. She foresaw her doom under the hated Jew, and, striking at the critical moment, appealed to Rome. We may gauge her importance both by this act and its result. In 104 B.C. she was a free town and "oppidum

liberum" under the Roman ægis, and was issuing barbarous looking coins, which occasionally bear the head of Aretas III, the Nabatean King, whose defeat of the Jews appears to have been the reason for this compliment.

Herod, although he never possessed the city, endowed his birth-place with "baths and costly fountains, and cloisters round a court, which were admirable for their workmanship and largeness." Here, too, he built the palace, which at his death was given by Augustus to his sister Salome. The city became a centre of Hellenic learning, and Strabo records the name of at least one philosopher who had brought fame to his native town. The sacred places at this date must have been of an imposing grandeur. We hear of a temple of Apollo, in which Herod's grandfather had been, Hierodoulos (Euseb., Hist. Eccles. 1, 6, 2; 7, 11), and coins of the city show us three other divinities, who must have been worshipped at this time. The city goddess with mural crown, standing on her prow and accompanied by her dove, recalls the old Celestial Aphrodite or Semiramis; another goddess crowned with a crescent moon and holding a cornucopia, a sceptre and a dove, rides on a *Triton* and suggests the ancient Derceto. The third figure, called Phanebolos (perhaps the old Pen-Baal or face of Baal, an epithet of the goddess Tanith), wears helmet and cuirass, and carries a sword, a small round shield, and, more incongruously, a large palm-branch. Even the sex of this divinity is uncertain, but the occurrence of the so-called sign of Baal, the triangle, disc and horns, connects it with Tanith and Baal-Hammân: possibly it represents Heracles-Belos, a kind of combination between Baal, Serapis and the Phœnician Eshmûn, who is known to have been worshipped at Askalon in the third century A.D., and who may be the figure riding on a lion ["Asclepios the lion-carried,"] which appears on later coins of the city.

A period of glorious prosperity followed for Askalon, nor—under the Roman peace—did there seem any but the fairest prospects for the future. The fury of the Jews ruled otherwise. Under Florus (64 A.D.), a street fight in Cæsarea ended in a veritable pogrom. The Jewish nation leapt to arms and avenged the slaughter of its comrades, not only on the offending city, but on all the others which came within the reach of its sword. Amongst these, Gaza, Askalon and Anthedon were captured and burnt to the ground (Jos. *B.J.* II, 18, 1). The answer was immediate: two

thousand five hundred Askalonite Jews perished in the streets and the old enmity of Philistine days revived a hundredfold. "It was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies still lying unburied, and those of old men mixed with infants, all dead and scattered about together." Such were the horrors lighted by religious fanaticism and tactless government.

The Jews were not disposed to quit the field tamely: after their utter defeat of Cestius Gallus, they marched post-haste to Askalon, "always an enemy," knowing in all probability that strongly walled as it was, its garrison consisted of but one cohort of infantry and a troop of horsemen. Their expectations were rapidly belied. Their ardent but unskilled leaders were no match for an experienced soldier. Repulsed with terrific effect and ambushed at the second effort, they retreated with a total loss of 18,000 men, and the dead bodies of two out of their three commanders. From this day to the advent of the Arabs Askalon enjoyed a well-earned and prosperous peace. The grant of quasi-autonomous coinage rewarded the loyalty of the city, and the title of a free Republic softened the suzerainty of Rome.

Under and after Antoninus Pius, that is, during the second, third and fourth centuries, Egyptian influences may be observed here at their height. Types of Osiris, with flail and sceptre appear on the coinage, and with them a strange temple with club-shaped Egyptian columns and doorways—four in all—decorated with uraei, which seems to be connected with this innovation. It was a time for the amalgamation of creeds and rituals, and though Christianity must have grown for many years unchecked, it received one terrible set-back from the united forces of Paganism. Under the apostate Emperor Julian (361 A.D.), the adherents of the older worships sought by barbarous atrocities to stifle the development of this hated and uncompromising creed. It was their final effort. In the same century Askalon had become a bishopric and from the acts of the Council of Constantinople (536 A.D.), bishops, both of Askalon and Maiuma Askalon, are known to have existed.

The position of this Maiuma or port of Askalon—and equally the reason for its separate existence—remains a mystery. Was it, as some think, only a suburb inside the present walls, or was it, as others would hold, a distinct haven between Askalon and the Wadi Hesi? This last was clearly the opinion of Antoninus Martyr, who wrote in 560 A.D. from personal observation. His short account

may be given in some detail. He says: "there (at Askalon) is a well of Peace (*puteus pacis*), made after the fashion of a theatre (or, as one reading runs, 'on the site of a theatre'), in which one descends by steps into the water. There rest three Egyptian martyrs, brethren, who had indeed individual names, but are commonly spoken of as 'The Egyptians.' A mile from the city is Saraphia, and near the city is Maiuma of Askalon. Thence we came to the city of Maiuma of Gaza."

Now Saraphia is almost certainly Kharbet esh-Sheraf which lies between Askalon and Wadi Hesi. It would seem, therefore, that this passage may contain a clue at least as to the situation of this Maiuma. In the tenth century Askalon is mentioned by itself, where Mîmas (the port of Gaza), and the havens of Esdûd and Yebna are all referred to. But we may draw what conclusion we like from this omission. Either harbour or city may have alone survived and borrowed, or retained, the ancient name.

We must not pause over the interesting reference to the Pateus Pacis which Antoninus so carefully describes. This feature will be more fully dealt with in the subsequent reports on the excavations now in progress. It may be noted, however, that in Arab times the city possessed a sacred well of "Ibrahim of the Hauran," legends of which still remain. Is it not possible that both this and the well of peace preserve the memory of a yet earlier holy place and denote the survival, if not of the goddess herself, at least of the waters which once were sacred to her worship?

The city's first life of which we spoke is now drawing to a close. We can picture her with the help of the Madaba fragment, embraced by a noble amphitheatre of walls, resplendent with porticos and basilicas, peopled with merchants and sailors, at once a mart for Southern Palestine, and a centre of learning and religion. Upon all this Byzantine glory the clouds descend black with the portent of an incredible destruction.

> For the end of the world was long ago,
> And all we dwell to-day
> As children of some second birth,
> Like a strange people left on earth
> After a Judgment Day.

The storm breaks and when the mists part again, only the outward form remains; new peoples and new language possess the city and a new empire rules.

The story of the terrible battle of the Yarmuk, in 634 A.D., which within two years lost Palestine and Syria for ever to the Greek empire, is too familiar to need description here. In 636 the cities of Southern Palestine opened their gates to the invincible Omar, and Askalon began her career as an Arab town. What punishment was then wreaked upon her we do not know: in any event it was speedily outdone by the Greeks themselves. An early Arab historian tells as that the Caliph Abd el-Malik in 685 A.D. "rebuilt the city, fortified it and rebuilt its mosque," which the Greeks had raided and destroyed. This mosque was afterwards restored by the Abbassid Caliph Al-Mahdî in 772 A.D. The inscription which he set up to commemorate his action was discovered in 1887 by Professor Clermont Ganneau.

The year 878 A.D. was an important one for the city. The Governor of Egypt, Ahmad ibn Tûlûn, gained possession of Syria and Palestine, and from this time onward till its final destruction Askalon owed a natural allegiance once more to a Ruler on the Nile. The importance of this return to the old Ptolemaic conditions is seen later during the Crusade of Richard I, when stores and levies from Egypt made continual use of this convenient landing-place.

In 985 A.D. we have a pleasant picture of the city from the pen of Mukaddasi. "Askalon on the sea," he says, "is a fine city and strongly garrisoned. Fruit is here in plenty, especially that of the sycamore. The Great Mosque stands in the market of the Clothes Merchants and is paved throughout with marble. The city is spacious and opulent, healthy and well fortified. The silk-worms of this place are renowned, its wares are excellent and life there is pleasant. Only its harbour is unsafe, its waters brackish, and the sand-fly is most hurtful."

Those who know the Askalon of to-day, will agree as to the first and last of these strictures, but we can only suppose that in Mukaddasi's time the waters of the city were temporarily under a cloud. The same writer adds a vivid note elsewhere to this description. All along the sea-coast of Syria were the Watch Stations where the levies assembled. The warships and galleys of the Greeks also came into these ports, bringing the captives taken from the Moslems and offering them for ransom. Whenever a Greek vessel appeared the horns at these stations were sounded; if it were at night, a beacon on the tower was lit, or if day, a great smoke

made; so all along the coast at Gaza, Mîmas, Askalon, the ports of Azdud, Yebna, Jaffa and Arsuf a twinkling line of fire would break out; trumpets sounded in the capital city of Ramleh; drums beat; and within an hour of the first signal an eager multitude would be thronging to the coast, with bulging purses and swords prudently displayed.

In 1047 the Persian traveller Nasîz speaks of the fine bazaar and mosque of Askalon. He saw here an arch which he was told was ancient and had been part of a mosque. "The arch was built of such mighty stones, that should any desire to throw it down, he would spend much money before he could accomplish it." Was this connected in any way with the crypt mentioned by later writers as forming a "high place in the centre of the town, near the Jami mosque," a place apparently remarkable for the number of pillars around it? This problem, like so many others, we must leave to the explorer's spade.

In 1099, when Jerusalem fell into Christian hands, Askalon served as a home for refugees from the capital: in the same year it witnessed a horrible carnage beneath its walls. The Egyptian host, abandoned by its general and routed by the little army of Godfrey de Bouillon, attempted in vain to reach safety within this formidable fortress. A mass of fugitives choked the gates of the city, two thousand perished stifled under the feet of men and horses, till in the end the commander of the garrison, fearing lest he might admit beaten friend and victorious foe together, gave orders that the gates be closed and left the wretched multitude to its fate. It is estimated that 35,000 men perished in this frightful massacre. We may say what we will of this ruthless abandonment of a routed army; the fact remains that Askalon itself was saved. Internal dissensions broke the Crusaders into warring factions and the fruits of their victory were never gleaned. It was not until the arrival of Baldwin the Third with his fleet and army in 1153, over half a century later, that Askalon, "the Bride of Syria," was added to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

She stood then much as we see her in her ruins now; this we may affirm from the pages of William of Tyre. He describes at length her semicircular shape, the chord or diameter of which was the seashore itself. "All the town," he says, "is surrounded by artificial mounds on which are ramparts with numerous solidly built towers. The walls are of suitable thickness and have a height

proportioned to their breadth. The place is besides this surrounded and carefully fortified by a belt of advanced walls constructed with the same solidity." Idrîsî, writing in 1184 (that is at about the same time), mentions this double wall and adds that outside the town there were no gardens and nothing in the way of trees. This description is open to doubt, for we hear of orchards flourishing in the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, and William of Tyre makes mention of vines and fruit trees. The city at this time had four principal gates. The first was the Great or Jerusalem Gate, protected by two very high towers, which overlooked and guarded the city below them. This gate was preceded by three or four other smaller ones, placed in the advanced walls and forming a winding approach to the main entrance. The second gate was that which faced the west and was called the Sea Gate. The third, to the south, was the Gate of Gaza; the last, to the north, that of Joppa. Of the sea coast, William of Tyre remarks, that it did not lend itself to the harbouring of ship, and afforded neither port nor sure haven for vessels, its beach being sandy and the approaches dangerous.

History must often have repeated itself: it was almost as much in spite, as because of, her position on the coast that Askalon obtained her undisputed pre-eminence.

The first Christian occupation of the city was of comparatively brief duration. In 1187 the Latin Kingdom crumbled on the fatal Horns of Hattin, and Saladin, marching southwards, laid siege to Askalon. We have seen the vital importance of this coast town to the Egyptian Caliph: new life and new blood could reach Palestine through her gates in spite of the menace of the Christian fleet. A breach was forced in the walls and a truce proposed. Finally Guy, the King of Jerusalem, who was held captive by the conqueror, persuaded the garrison to yield on terms, and the siege ended in surrender.

The loss of Askalon was one of gravest moment to the Christians, and later proved fatal to the Crusade of Richard I. In 1191, when his victorious advance threatened to overwhelm the whole of Southern Palestine, Saladin gave orders that the city be entirely destroyed, and even repaired thither himself to superintend the work. The reason given by his chronicler for this grim decision is significant: "it was feared that the enemy as soon as they had massacred the garrison, would make the city the basis of their

operations in an attack on Jerusalem and *thus cut off all communication with Egypt.*"

The scene which follows is one of the most tragic in history. The Sultan's tent was pitched at some distance from the city, perhaps on that hill where the mosque of Seedna-Hussein commands a striking view of the walls and the sea beyond. "He slept very little," says his biographer, "for the thought of being obliged to destroy the city filled his mind. He said to me whilst I was on duty in his tent: 'I take God to witness I would rather lose all my children than cast down a single stone from the walls: but God wills it; it is necessary for the Moslem cause; therefore I am obliged to carry it through.' He then sent for the Governor of the city and ordered all the workmen to be assembled. He assigned a certain portion of the ramparts to each group of labourers. The task of destroying a curtain and tower was given to each Emir and company of soldiers. When these people entered the city there arose a great sound of mourning and lamentation, for it was pleasant to look upon and delightful to the senses. Its walls were strong, its buildings beautiful, and its situation charmed the eye."

All the houses and buildings in the city were set on fire: the miserable inhabitants were obliged to sacrifice what they could not carry away, and take refuge either in Syria or Egypt, the greater number being forced to travel on foot.

All the towers were filled with wood and fired: the work was pressed on by Saladin with anxious haste, for every day brought fresh news of the enemy's advance. The walls, nine to ten cubits broad, and the towers, some of a lance's length in thickness, were slowly and painfully demolished. The Hospitallers' Tower, which commanded the sea and was as strong as a castle, completely defied the workmen's picks, so that they were obliged to set fire to it in order to make the stones more friable. That single blaze lasted for two days, but for many previous nights the glare of the dying city must have been visible to Richard's camp at Jaffa.

Richard himself desired to march on the city and save it before it was too late, but his counsels were overruled by his companions, and it was not until the beginning of the next year that the work of restoration was begun. During the interval much time and blood was wasted in the plain, and it was actually during the advance on the Holy City that this change of plan was adopted. No delay could have been more fatal. Taken at the first, Askalon

could have been made a base, as Saladin feared would be the case, and, as the Templars and others urged, would intercept the convoys from Egypt to Jerusalem. The moment actually chosen could hardly have been more ill-advised. The glorious hopes of seeing Jerusalem were dissipated; despondency and mutual recrimination spread through the army; and, to crown this disaster, the weather broke upon the Crusaders in floods of heavy rain. Their march to Askalon can be better imagined than described. Their horses stuck in the mud, while the drivers in bitterness of spirit raised their hands to heaven and uttered imprecations, approaching even to blasphemy. "When the beasts of burden fell, the provisions which they carried were either spoiled by the mud or dissolved by the water. In this manner, cursing the day on which they were born, and beating their breasts with their hands, they reached Askalon, which they found so dismantled by the Saracens that they could scarcely enter through its gates for the heaps of stones. This day was the 20th of January, and they encamped for the night, every man as well as he was able."

For eight days no vessel could enter the port, and some of the commissariat barges and galleys perished with all their crews. The army was reduced to the verge of starvation and all work was at a standstill. Eventually, however, spurred on by Richard, they started on their enormous task. Fifty-three of the highest and strongest towers, besides other smaller ones, had been levelled with the ground. The five largest bore the curious names of the *Tower of Ham*, the *Tower of the Maidens*, the *Tower of the Shields*, the *Bloody Tower*, and the *Towers of the Admirals* and the *Bedouins*. All these were in some sort rebuilt, and by Easter, the 5th of April, the King made high festival in the meadows outside the ramparts, a sure sign that the work was going well. Never, perhaps, has a city experienced such vigour in destruction, such ardour in restoration as Askalon within a few short months from Saladin and Richard Cœur de Lion.

The remainder of the city's history need not detain us long. The walls were demolished once more by the consent, and even the co-operation, of both parties on Richard's departure for England. The town continued to be a bone of contention between the Christians and Moslems, but the former seemed to have regained possession, for the Regesta of the Latin kings refer occasionally to grants of land, houses and the like. We hear of the order of the

Teutonic Brethren in the city, and later (1227) of the restoration of the Parish of Askalon by Gregory IX to the Bishopric of Jerusalem. In 1240, Richard of Cornwall started to rebuild the walls, but the Sultan Bibars in 1270 ordered their final demolition, and since that day Askalon has been uninhabited. This final period is like the sighing of a ghost: the real Askalon perished under the picks of Saladin.

The ruins were visited in 1355 by the traveller, Ibn Batuta, who mentions the fact that the head of Hussein which used to be there had been removed to Cairo. It was kept, according to the writer, in the beautiful mosque at Askalon, to the south of which there was another large mosque, that of Omar.

One final passage from the same book may bring this brief survey to its conclusion.

"To the south of Askalon are the wells of Abraham. You descend to them by broad steps leading to a chamber. On all four sides of this chamber are springs of water gushing out from stone conduits. The water is sweet but is not very abundant. The people tell many stories about these springs."

We have followed Askalon through the vicissitudes of her long career and have seen at each point how this one feature of a sacred well or pool is constantly rising to the surface. Is this a mere coincidence, or are we right in thinking that the Pagan goddess still hovered over her holy waters, still haunted the solitudes where her primeval shrine had stood? "The people tell many stories about these springs."

We have no need to compose an epitaph on these vanished glories. It was written for us before the house of Judah passed into captivity.

"Baldness is come upon Gaza: Askalon is brought to nought, the remnant of their valley.

"Seek ye the Lord, all ye meek of the earth which have wrought his judgment; seek righteousness, seek meekness; it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the Lord's anger. For Gaza shall be forsaken, and Askalon a desolation . . . and the sea coast shall be pastures, with cottages for shepherds and folds for flocks."

THE POOL OF BETHESDA.

By E. W. G. Masterman.

The Pool of Bethesda is one of those Biblical sites about which there is much uncertainty, although in recent years many have been tempted to accept without doubt a site, which, as we shall see, has little to support it but ecclesiastical tradition. The materials for identification of the site are very scanty, and we are never likely to reach more than a high degree of probability. I propose to consider, first, what the Pool of Bethesda was; secondly, the suggested site; and, thirdly, to balance the evidence and see which site most satisfactorily answers to the requirements.

1. *What was the Pool of Bethesda?*—All the first-hand information we have about it is contained in a few verses in John Chapter v: "Now there is at Jerusalem by the Sheep Gate a pool, which is called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porches. In these lay a multitude of them that were sick, blind, halt, withered.' (John v, 2, 3.)

We gather first of all that it was a κολυμβήθρα ("swimming-pool") in Jerusalem, at which was gathered a multitude of sick persons. It is never mentioned elsewhere in the Bible, nor in Josephus, nor in other histories. Its name, as we shall see, must have been an unfamiliar one, for it has many variations in the ancient manuscripts. How can this be reconciled with the "multitude" which assembled there? In explanation we may notice, first, that the occasion was a feast,[1] and that many of the sick had assembled at this time, not only to secure healing, if possible, at the pool, but also, as with such unfortunates to-day, to ask alms of the many passing travellers. All visitors to Jerusalem know how the "blind, halt and withered" congregrate when there is any special excitement in Jerusalem; this is no modern custom, but the practice all over the Orient from early times. The tradition of the healing virtues of the pool was far more universally known among the sick mendicants than among the healthy. In Palestine to-day

[1] The "unknown feast" as commentators call it, was very probably Purim.

there are places considered by the ignorant to be endowered with marvellous properties, but such traditions are largely despised by the educated native or foreigner, and the knowledge of these can be obtained only by patient inquiry among the curious and sympathetic. For example, one may mention the shrines dedicated to El-Khudr at Jerusalem, on Mount Carmel, and at Joba near Damascus; all these are, by a large section of the common people, credited with miraculous virtues. Numbers of such places have without doubt been scattered about the land of Palestine in all ages, but unless some outstanding incident occurred at any one of them, there is little likelihood that it would be referred to by an historian.

Unfortunately, the name of this pool varies greatly in different manuscripts, and gives us no clear indication of its situation. So many variations suggest that the name was little known, and it has even been claimed that it was not a name in general use, but one given to the pool by the evangelist himself. Were this the case, then, the common interpretation that the Greek word *βηθεσδά* corresponds to an Aramaic word meaning "house of mercy" is the most likely and the most generally accepted. But others have suggested that it is from the Hebrew בית אשדא "place of overflowing water." This derivation is supported by Conder, who quotes it from Reland, but it is considered improbable by philologists. There is, however, much variation in the Greek, and both Bethsaida (*βηθσαΐδα*), "place of fishing," and Bethzatha (*βηθζαθά*), "place of olives," are considered more probable than Bethesda. Eusebius has again the variation Bezatha (*βηζαθά*) which would appear to be simply Bethzatha with the *θ* dropped out, though it naturally suggests Bezetha (*βεζεθά*) the name which Josephus gives to the hill north of the temple. This is not the place to discuss the many translations of these various readings, but we get "house of excrements," "house of porches" (Delitzsch), and "house of sheep" (Cramer), all put forward. From the point of view of topography, the two meanings which might be helpful, and therefore important, though each supporting an opposing theory, would be "house of overflowing water" and "Bezetha."

The third point to notice is that there was some connection between the pool and sheep. What this was we can but speculate, the word *προβατικὴ* ("relating to sheep") standing alone. The A.V. supplied *market* after sheep, and the R.V. put *gate*—an addition

made in reference to the "sheep gate" mentioned in Neh. iii, 1; xii, 29. The exact position of this gate is doubtful, but it certainly stood north of the temple and probably not far from the present St. Stephen's Gate. Eusebius, and all the writers that followed him, supplied *pool;* we should thus get: "There is in Jerusalem by the sheep pool a pool," etc. On the whole, "sheep pool" or "sheep place" seems the most reasonable view.

The reference to the angel troubling the water, John v, 4 (A.V.), does not occur in the best manuscripts and is omitted from the R.V. We have, however, the statement that the sick people waited for the "moving of the water," and the words of the impotent man: "Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool." It has long occurred to students of the Bible that a state of things such as that described as "moving" or "troubling" of the water is just what obtains in an intermittent spring. In such a spring the water rises either from the ground or from the bottom of the pool in periodical gushes—it may be every few minutes, or it may be once or twice daily. The "Virgin's Fountain" in Jerusalem (the ancient Gihon), *el-Fuwarah* in the Wady Kelt about half-way between Jerusalem and Jericho, and *'Ain ej-jinn* near Safed are three intermittent springs I have visited. The sudden "troubling" of the water is a most striking and wonderful spectacle. For example, at *el-Fuwarah* ("the bubbler") the water rises in some seasons two or three times an hour in a group of natural stony basins. The rise is heralded by rumblings and gurglings. The water then rapidly fills the pools, and soon the whole valley resounds with the music of running water; a few minutes more and this gradually subsides, until the extraordinary stillness calls attention to the fact that all the spring-heads are empty and dry. When the water bursts forth in a confined area, as it does to-day in the cave of the Virgin's Fountain, the rise is often considerable, amounting to several feet in a few minutes.[1]

Mysterious as these phenomena are they are readily explained. Throughout much of Palestine layers of soft rock underlie the hard rock, and all over the land this soft layer, where it is exposed, has

[1] "When we first entered there was not more than a foot depth of water in the pool, but the rush of water was now very rapid, and the depth increased, just after we had reached the foot of the steps which lead down to the pool, to four feet seven inches." Conder, in *Memoirs of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, "Jerusalem" Volume, p. 357.

been hollowed out by nature into caverns, and by men into tombs and rock-dwellings. In the intermittent springs we have a cavity, formed by erosion of the water, from which a crooked passage capable of acting as a siphon leads into the open air. The time taken for the water slowly to collect corresponds to the interval, and the shorter time, in which the siphon like passage empties the cavity, corresponds with the sudden gushing out of the water. These natural conditions, however, must always have been, as they are still to the vast majority of mankind, a constant source of wonder; in the Orient to-day they are associated with stories of jinns and dragons under the earth. In the case of the Virgin's Fountain there is a folklore tale that a dragon sits at the underground source and swallows the water; but at times he sleeps, and then the water escapes. At the period of the New Testament such wonders would among the Jews be associated with angels instead of jinns.

Another point to be considered is the nature of the "five porches" mentioned in the narrative. The best light we have on this is that afforded us by the excavations of Dr. F. Bliss[1] at the corresponding "swimming pool" of Siloam. Here were found clear traces of a kind of arcade around the pool, making a sheltered place of four porches where bathers could undress or spectators sit. In the museum attached to the Greek-Catholic College at St. Anne's (adjoining the traditional Pool of Bethesda) there used to be (and may be still) an interesting model reconstruction of the Pool of Bethesda, showing just such an arrangement of arcades all around, with an added fifth arcade built upon a division in the centre of the pool. This is expressly stated by Cyril of Jerusalem[2] (A.D. 370) to have been the arrangement of the "five porches." In the model referred to the maker calls the pool on one side of the division the "Sheep Pool" and the other the "Pool of Bethesda," but he makes out that the pool now shown as the Pool of Bethesda at St. Anne's is only a very small portion of the original pool.

We have seen, then, that a pool which would satisfactorily answer to the Pool of Bethesda should, if possible, have the following features: It should be a likely place for a multitude of sick mendicants to assemble; it should have some sort of connection with a sheep "place" or "pool"; it should throw some light on the expression

[1] See *Q.S.*, January, 1897.

[2] *Hom. in Par.*, 2.

"moving of the waters"; and it should furnish remains of "five porches." Unfortunately we know of no site answering to all these requirements. Two other points are worth consideration. First, it would surely be a help could we find any spot in Jerusalem which, apart from ecclesiastical tradition, is credited with healing properties. Secondly, Bethesda must have been a site which was outside the walls of old Jerusalem. The "impotent" man was deliberately told by Jesus to do something which was not allowable according to the traditional interpretation of the law, viz., to carry off his *lehaf* on which he lay. This was a very necessary thing, and one which is certainly done by Jews on many a Sabbath in Jerusalem to-day. Where was the offence? It was because it was done outside the city wall, *i.e.*, outside those Sabbath boundaries where, by the Pharasaic interpretation of the law, nothing must be carried on the Sabbath under any circumstances, certainly not a bed. Some of the suggested sites are no longer possible if the above conclusions are correct.

2. *The Suggested Sites for the Pool of Bethesda.*—From the thirteenth century until recent years the large pool known as the Birket Israel[1] was pointed out as without much doubt the Pool of Bethesda. In most of the older illustrated volumes on Jerusalem pictures of this pool appears so labelled. This reservoir is about 360 feet long by 126 feet wide; formerly it was 80 feet deep, but within the last few years it has become the dumping-place of rubbish from all over the city, so that at the present time it is almost filled up. The reservoir is constructed in the breadth of a deep natural valley which runs under the city from a little east of the Damascus Gate, and passing south-east joins the valley of Jehoshaphat 140 feet south of the north-eastern angle of the temple area. It is a valley so filled with rubbish that only excavations can demonstrate its existence. The ends of the pool, lying to the east and west, being against the valley sides, are therefore largely of rock, while the north and south sides are of masonry. The pool when full probably contained 22 feet of water, and its purpose was quite as much to act as a protection to the northern end of the temple inclosure as to supply water. It does not at all answer to the requirements of a *κολυμβήθρα*, nor are there any evidences of porches—*i.e.*, arcades—around it. The place, indeed, seems to have been selected for the

[1] According to Conder the change took place about 1230.

site of the Pool of Bethesda in rather a haphazard way, and for years students of Biblical topography felt the unsatisfactory character of the identification, especially in the light of the description given by Eusebius, who states: "Bethesda, a pool in Jerusalem, which is the sheep (pool), formerly having five porches. It is now identified with the twin pools, of which one is supplied by the periodic rains, while the water of the other is of a muddy colour – a trace, they say, of carcases of the sacrifices which were formerly cleansed in it before offering, whence also it was called προβατικὴ (sheep pool)." Numerous pilgrims refer to this twin pool between A.D. 330–370, but some time after this it appears to have been lost sight of altogether. The reference to a "twin pool" caused the early explorers of the Palestine Exploration Fund to identify the twin pool under the buildings belonging to the "Sisters of Zion" as the lost pool, while others on other grounds suggested the well-known Hamam esh-Shefa. With regard to this latter, its name "bath of healing" is practically its only serious claim. It is an underground tank near the Bab el-Kattanin, one of the gates of the Haram or temple area, and it supplies the Turkish bath there. It contains only dirty water, greatly impregnated with sewage, which runs down there under the rubbish of the city; it has no true spring and is quite unfit for use, either as drinking water or for a bath. In no way does it answer to the description of a traditional pool; there are, it is true, some arches about it, but no definite five porches, and it was certainly inside the old city walls.

The twin pools under the convent of the Sisters of Zion are both over 100 feet long, and were supplied by an important aqueduct with surface water collected over a large area to the north of the city. They would probably never have been suggested had it not been that when first found they were supposed to be the twin pools of Eusebius, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and Jerome. But since the discovery of the pool next to be described, near the church of St. Anne, this suggestion is untenable. They satisfy none of the necessary conditions so well as the St. Anne's pool which, as we shall see, was certainly considered the sacred site. It is indeed probable that they did not exist at all until the capture and destruction of the city by Titus, for they are made inside the great moat of the fortress Antonia.

We must now consider the claims of the pool which is visited by most travellers to Jerusalem, and is popularly accepted as the

Pool of Bethesda. There can be no doubt that when discovered in 1888 this pool was the one which had long been looked for in this situation—namely, in close proximity to the church of St. Anne. This pool is 55 feet long and 12 feet wide, but with its "twin" pool immediately to the west, from which it is divided by a thick wall of masonry, is over 100 feet long. Many think, though it is extremely doubtful, that the pools extend laterally towards the north. Both these pools are filled only by surface rainwater, and have no spring nor any evidence of their ever having had one. The western pool is used as a reservoir, and after the rainy season contains more than 20 feet of water; the eastern pool being a show place, is not so filled and usually has only a few feet of water at most. A flight of twenty-four steps leads from the opening at the eastern end to the water level. Over the pool there are remains of a double tier of buildings. We have first the roof of the pool itself, supported on five arches—possibly as a reminder of the five porches; they are reconstructions of older arches. This roof forms the floor of what was apparently a church at the western end of which, where probably the font was situated, there was a fresco, now much defaced and fast fading, representing the angel troubling the waters. Most of the building has disappeared, but it would seem to have been a church of the fourth or fifth century. At a later period—probably Crusading—when the accumulated rubbish of the city had raised the general level—a church was built on the top of the older building, of which a good deal of the rounded apse is visible to-day. In addition to the testimony of the ruins to the sacredness of the site, various objects were found among the rubbish, indicating that this was a place where cures had been supposed to occur. Especially noticeable was the marble model of a foot with a Greek inscription, which had been placed there by one Pompeia Lucilia in thankfulness for the cure of some disease.

There can, I think, hardly be a doubt that we have here the mediaeval pool, and also that of earlier centuries—of Eusebius, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and many subsequent writers; but their notices of it are rather obscure. The positive evidences are the fact that the church, and probably two churches superimposed, have been built over it, that the pool is described by some of these writers as close to the church of St. Anne, "where the illustrious Anna brought forth Mary," the representation of the miracle on the fresco, and the finding of objects ascribing cure to the sacred waters. How

this site came to be lost and the Birket Israel to be identified from the thirteenth century as the real pool is a mystery, and one that does not inspire us with great respect for the broken reed of tradition.

To summarize the claims of this to be the Pool of Bethesda, we notice: (1) fairly early tradition from the fourth century, a time, however, let us remark, when there was a great activity in finding sites for everything; (2) the fact that there was certainly a sheep gate in this neighbourhood—though, as we have noticed, it is only supposition which places *gate* after sheep in John v, 2; (3) that this pool was on the hill Bezetha, and if the readings Bethzetha or Bezetha are correct, then the pool might well be called after the hill on which it lay; (4) "the house of Hannah" may be translated as "house of mercy"—the most usual explanation of Bethesda; and (5) there is some evidence that "cures" took place here. Against this site we have the facts that this is only a deep rain-filled cistern, with no sign of fountain, much less an intermittent fountain, to explain the "moving" of the water, that there is no sign of porches; and, lastly, that it is very difficult to see how sick people could ever have got down into it without being drowned, unless it was purposely kept, as it is to-day, almost empty.

One further site remains to be mentioned—the Virgin's Fountain. This was, I believe, originally suggested by the learned Dr. Robinson in 1832,[1] and Colonel Conder,[2] was a great supporter of this view. The Virgin's Fountain, known to the Moslems as 'Ain Umm ed-Deraj ("fountain of the steps") to the Christians as 'Ain Sitti Miriam ("spring of the Lady Mary"), and to the Jews as Aaron's Bath, is the one true spring in Jerusalem. In the Old Testament it was undoubtedly Gihon—"the pourer"—and the first settlers on the hills of Jerusalem were attracted to the spot through its copious waters. Here, too, according to tradition, the Virgin Mary washed the clothes of the infant Jesus. The water bursts forth inside a natural cave, 20 feet long, at the southern end of the hill generally recognized by modern scholars as the original fortress of Zion. In olden days it must have flowed out of the cave mouth down the valley, but now, because of the vast accumulation of the *débris* left by the many destructions of Jerusalem, the valley has become so filled with rubbish that its approach is down a double

[1] Robinson, *Researches*, Vol. I, p. 342; Vol. II, p. 249.

[2] *Handbook of the Bible, P.E.F. Memoirs*, Hastings' *Dictionary, etc.*

flight of steps, twenty-six in all. At the back of the cave, some 4 feet 7 inches above the floor of the cave, is a large passage leading into the famous Siloam tunnel which carries the surplus water into the Siloam pool. As has been mentioned the flow of the water is intermittent at intervals, varying from an hour or two to, in the dry season, twice or thrice in the twenty-four hours. The water can reach the Siloam tunnel only when it stands over 4½ feet deep in the pool inside the cave. The water of to-day is not of good quality, being undoubtedly contaminated with sewage; but this may be a comparatively modern defilement, as the sewage to-day flows unchecked all over the surface from which much of the water derives its supply.

The suggestion that this is a site for the Pool of Bethesda is, I take it, not that the cave pool was itself the site, but that at the entrance to this cave, on a spot now 20 feet below the present surface, there was a rock-cut pool like the one at present existing, half buried, at the other end of the Siloam tunnel, and that just as at this latter were four "porches" or arcades around the pool, so here there were five in the manner described. Now, it must, I think, be admitted by all that there is a very strong probability, amounting in my mind to a certainty, that there was a pool in this situation. That there should be a pool at the other end of the tunnel, where the supply of water must necessarily have been much less, and none at the source itself, which one may say was certainly more plentiful in early times, would be contrary to the arrangements everywhere in the land. Further, from what we read of what is called the "Old Pool" in the Old Testament,[1] I gather that it may well have been in this situation. There is a small pool to-day under the steps of the Virgin Fountain. To-day there is, in front of the entrance to the Virgin's Fountain, an open space which may well correspond with the area of the buried pool; there is abundance of room for a large pool, or pools, in the situation, allowing for a wide highroad down the valley at the same time.

Admitted that there was a pool here we have strong reasons for believing this must have been the lost Pool of Bethesda. (1) The pool was connected with an intermittent fountain; indeed, it is likely that, as at the Fuwarah, a branch of the spring may have risen in the pool itself. (2) At this fountain there has been preserved

[1] Isaiah xxii, 11.

down to modern times a tradition that the rising waters are beneficial to the sick. "The modern Jews believe the water of this pool to be a sure cure for rheumatic complaints. They often go in numbers, men and women together, and stand in their clothes in the pool, waiting for the water to rise."[1] Only a few years ago the Turkish government had to station a soldier at the fountain to prevent quarrels between the sick Jews visiting the springs for their health, and the village women from Silwan coming to draw water. (3) The situation outside the city walls, and upon what must have been a popular highway on a feast day, *i.e.*, along the valley of the Kedron and through the irrigated gardens that for many years have laid there—are just the conditions required by the narrative—a place of public resort some distance outside the city where sick mendicants could pursue their business. (4) Whether the connection with "sheep" was "sheep place" or "sheep pool" (and most of the early Christian writers assumed the latter), where do sheep more commonly resort than at the town or village fountain? Here the sheep would naturally be brought for watering and washing, and the nearness of the temple precincts would make this a peculiarly suitable spot.

In balancing up the evidence, it seems to me the most definite statement is the one connected with the "moving" of the water: therefore a site which explains that fact has a strong presumption in its favour. The local non-ecclesiastical tradition, and the other points, all go to confirm it. Excavations no more extensive than those undertaken by the "White Fathers" of St. Anne's in the clearing out of their pool would in all probability afford fresh evidence in its favour.

[1] *P.E.F. Memoirs*, "Jerusalem" Volume, p. 366.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Desert Campaigns and *Allenby's Final Triumph*, by W. T. Massey. Constable & Co. London. 1918 and 1920.

These two valuable additions to our Library have been presented by the publishers. They, together with *How Jerusalem was Won*, which was reviewed in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1920, give a continuous narrative of the whole campaign from the crossing of the Suez Canal until the capture of Aleppo. In the *Desert Campaigns* we have a description not only of General Sir A. Murray's advance towards Gaza, but also of the "March on Sollum," towards the N.W. of Egypt, and the very romantic "Dash on Siwa." These various operations are most graphically described, and the volume is illustrated by some remarkable drawings by James McBey. It is a necessary preliminary to the understanding of General Allenby's successes that the reader should read this account of the less showy but equally essential work carried out by the Egyptian Expeditionary Force before their actual advance into the Holy Land.

Allenby's Final Triumph carries on the story begun in *How Jerusalem was Won*, and tells of perhaps an even greater tale. The first two attacks towards Amman, involving the bridging of the swift-flowing, flooded Jordan, are graphically described. The results at the time did not probably come up to expectation, but they were part of the great plan of camouflage, here fully described, which so completely hoodwinked the enemy. The great break-through on the coast, the magnificent cavalry advance, the overwhelming of the whole Turkish army makes a theme which few could tell so clearly, so interestingly, and yet so soberly and with such a wealth of detail. The 29 illustrations from photographs and the three maps greatly assist the understanding of the text.

The whole series of these three books furnishes the public with a history of this brilliant campaign which will never be surpassed.

E. W. G. M.

The Annual of the Oriental School in Jerusalem is the first of a series of volumes which the American School in Jerusalem proposes to publish annually. It contains a selection of papers which have for some time been awaiting publication. Prof. Turrey discusses

a Phoenician necropolis at Sidon, the first work of excavation undertaken by the American School exactly twenty years ago. The late Prof. H. G. Mitchell writes on the modern wall of Jerusalem, an exceedingly detailed study, with 71 plates. It is noteworthy that the wall is an irregular quadrilateral, which looks as if its builders deliberately avoided the cardinal points, since none of its sides or corners looks squarely towards any one of them. He deals with the material, its source, the method of quarrying the stones, the effect of the climate upon the stones, in particular the destructive sirocco, the repair of the wall, the varieties of masonry. The whole constitutes an invaluable monograph upon a subject of great historical, no less than architectural, interest.

Prof. Paton summarizes various survivals of primitive religion in modern Palestine. His account is based upon a tour in 1903 in company with the late Prof. Samuel Ives Curtiss, the author of *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, and it includes much that supplements that well-known and invaluable work. It is interesting to find that at Apka, at the source of the Adonis river, the spring is still considered sacred. The modern native believes that it is the abode of the Lady (*Sa'idat*) of Apka; her husband built the remains of the temple hard by (viz., the temple of Astarte); he was killed by a wild beast, and she searched among the mountains until she found his mangled body. Here is an obvious modification of the famous myth of Adonis, and to-day Christians and Metawilehs make vows to the saint, and bring their sick to be cured by lying beside the water. Prof. Paton observes that "at many places in modern Palestine all the sites of the primitive sanctuaries of Canaan are still kept up. In spite of the century-long opposition of official Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism, one may still say with the author of the Book of Kings 'nevertheless, the high places are not taken away, the people still sacrifice and burn incense in the high places.'" Finally, Prof. Moulton contributes various "gleanings in archaeology and epigraphy." He discusses cup-markings, ancient pyxes, figurines, and a couple of inscriptions (Greek and Nabataean).

The volume is an excellent beginning, and we shall look forward to the results of the resumption of activities by the American School.

Studia Semitica et Orientalia (Glasgow, 1920), consists of a series of studies by seven members of the Glasgow University Oriental

Society, dedicated to the (since deceased) Prof. James Robertson, D.D., LL.D., a bibliography of whose published works is appended. The contributions range over a wide field. Mr. James R. Buchanan opens with a study in Hebrew Synonyms, namely, words to denote the idea of shutting, closing, stopping up. Mr. W. M. Christie reconsiders the question of the true site of Capernaum. The article argues for Tell Hum, a site so considerable that, if it does not represent Capernaum, it is difficult to determine what old city did stand there. "Unless, then, we are to identify Tell Hum with Capernaum, we have here, on the shores of the lake, the remains of a very large and important town, which from its position must have been in constant touch with the life and history of the district, and yet has left in no record a single trace behind." Its synagogue, therefore, has additional interest, and two photographs are given of it. Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy deals with the everyday life of the Jews as reflected in the Mishnah Treatise, Shabbath. He enables the reader to visualize the ordinary house and home life of the Jew of the early Christian era. A curious little touch appears apropos of the widely spread superstition that on the Sabbath a cow's udder might not be covered, as it was on week-days, with a hedgehog's skin, to protect it from the snakes that are supposed to help themselves to the milk. A footnote informs us: "Jewish students from South Africa have assured the writer that this is not a superstition but a fact!" An interesting archaeological point is the woman's ornament known as "the golden city." This is the mural or turreted crown, a gold circlet, imitating a city wall with its turrets, constantly found on the heads of city-goddesses on contemporary coins. Mr. R. B. Pattie deals with the synchronisms of the Book of Kings. Among other conclusions he holds that the calendar year in the northern kingdom began six months later than it did in Judah, and that there are several cases of the association of a son with his father as co-regent or colleague, whence his reign may be reckoned from the date of his association with his father, or from the time of his father's death; or both ways may be used, as he thinks, in the case of Ahab and Jehoram of Israel. Dr. E. Robertson gives a translation of an Arabic MS. on calligraphy, probably of the first half of the sixteenth century. The MS. is a compilation, but embodies material much of which is of great interest. Thus, the practice of pressing the pen until, as it moved over the paper, it gradually and evenly opened, and could be permitted to close as

evenly, probably illustrates with the pen what the old cuneiform writers did with their stylus; the gradual pressure in this case causing an ever broader impression upon the soft clay.[1] Arab calligraphy became a veritable science and so mathematical that with the aid of a pair of compasses the student could find at what point and how far any writing fell short of ideal perfection. The delightful seriousness of the subject is illustrated by the discussion as to the number of letters in the Arabic alphabet—28, or, counting the ligature *Lam-Alef* as a letter, 29; for the Prophet averred that "whosoever does not believe that the letters are 29, he shall have no escape at all from the fire." The Glasgow Professor, Dr. W. B. Stevenson, contributes a paper with specimens of Moslem charms, with a discussion of their lore. The Arab magic squares are of more than merely Oriental interest. In the "seven seals" are curious examples of mystic symbols, some borrowed by the Arabs from the peoples they conquered. To many Dr. Stevenson's subject has a curious interest in itself, but it is worth pointing out that it is psychologically important as illustrating certain inveterate human tendencies which recur in many different forms, and when we can see the way in which the mind has worked in these more obvious Arab charms, it becomes possible to estimate more correctly the evidence from ages or districts where the interpretation is not so straightforward. Finally, Prof. D. B. Macdonald, on "the pre-Abrahamic stories of Genesis," writes in order to vindicate for their redactor "far more philosophic insight and freedom of treatment than are commonly admitted in one of his supposed mechanical tribe." He claims for him a kinship with the writers of the "Wisdom Literature," whose predecessor he was. In other words the narratives are purposely intended to convey certain ideas and express, in a simple un-philosophic form, certain conceptions of the world.

The Glasgow University Oriental Society is to be congratulated on the successful and readable volume, and it is very much to be

[1] The exact use of the pen is not quite clear (see Dr. Robertson, p. 60, and note *k*); and the present reviewer's remark upon the cuneiform writing must be taken with Prof. Burney's interesting statement in his commentary on Judges (p. 255, on the use of writing among the Israelites). The latter finds, on experiment, that "the wedges can only be formed successfully by impression without drawing, the variation in form being affected by differentiating the slope at which the stylus is applied to the putty [the material used in the experiment]."

hoped that it may be able to publish other volumes from time to time. Owing to the vastly increased expense of printing, there is a fear that studies of this sort may suffer in the future, as, naturally, they cannot appeal to a very large circle. But collections of contributions like these afford an opportunity for publishing what can with difficulty be printed otherwise, and in a great variety of ways they contribute to the advance of knowledge.

Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel: their Lives and Books, by Prof. W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., of Glasgow, is a modest member of the "Guild Text-books" (Black, London, 1920. 1s.) But it would be difficult to find a more concise and adequate account of these the three largest prophetic books. He draws attention to the difficulties and uncertainties of interpretation and authorship, but succeeds in present and continuous description of the development of prophecy in the light of history. As a guide to a more intelligent knowledge of the Bible, and of the inner history of some epoch-making centuries of human development, this booklet will be welcomed by many.

Vol. XXIII of *The Annual of the British School at Athens* (Session 1918–19) is largely taken up with Macedonia and the archaeological gleanings of the French and British in the war zones. In addition to this, Mr. S. Casson contributes notes on prehistoric mounds in the Caucasus and Turkestan; of special interest in view of the important American expedition at Anau (E. of Askhabad) in 1908, and the connections which were discovered to exist between Turkestan, Babylonia, Elam and the west. He considers that the present railway route from Batum to the Caspian, and from Krasnovodsk to Merv corresponds approximately to the ancient main highway of commerce between the east and the west. The excavations at Anau also showed connections between east and west, for, in the first place, the skulls were not particularly Mongolian, and did not differ materially from the Mediterranean type; and, second, certain archaeological evidences (pottery types, copper sickle, etc.) linked the two together.

The *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique*, 1920, includes a new text of the correspondence between Abgar of Edessa and Our Lord, found engraven upon a gateway at Philippi, in Macedonia. M. Ch. Picard makes it the subject of an important discussion of this well-known account. He observes that by the side was an old altar with a dedication to Isis: Christianity overcame the old Egyptian

cult, just as, similarly in Edessa, the legend records a conflict between Jesus Christ and the goddess Atargatis.

In the February number of *Art and Archaeology*, several articles on the excavations in New Mexico are of special interest for what they contribute to the methods and results of archaeologists in the New World as compared and contrasted with those of the Old. Corn is regarded as the common factor of cultural evolution as metal was in Europe; and the conditions of climate and subsistence were throughout sufficiently alike to produce a single type of social structure which shows itself in the building of the towns and the religion. In Chaco Canyon we find an architectural monument unique of its kind; more than thirty million pieces of stone—it is estimated—had to be quarried, transported, shaped and laid in the walls. Such energy finds parallels only in the Egyptian pyramids, the Great Wall of China, mediaeval cathedrals, and the earth-mounds of the Mississippi valley. An article in the same issue by Kenneth M. Chapman ("What the Potsherds Tell") is an interesting account of the variety of styles; the study is still only at the commencement, but in this fully illustrated article we have an excellent survey of different processes, manifestations of the creative instinct, and some hints of intercourse with the outside world. Mr. Edgar L. Hewett, in an admirably illustrated article, enables the reader to compare the work of the native American builders with the better known works of ancient civilizations of the Old World. "In wall masonry the Chaco builders were unsurpassed," and for the purpose of comparison he shows typical Chaco Canyon walls with illustrations of walls of Troy, Mycenae, Babylon, Nippur, Jericho, Carthage, Gizeh, Niha in Syria, and Pachacamac in Peru. He draws special attention to the relation between these American buildings and the population. "Monuments of the Old World are chiefly memorials of kings, priests, or miscalled 'nobility,' whereas, in New Mexico, the houses are an expression of the domestic life of a race." "They memorialize the lives of the people, not of kings." The argument is interesting but inconclusive.

H. V. Canter writes in *The American Journal of Philology* (Vol. XLI, 4) on the "Paraclausithyron as a literary theme." It is the conventional *exclusus amator*, the lover serenading his mistress, or decorating the door that parts them. It is mentioned here as worthy of considering in connection with the remarkable and

puzzling erotic inscription written on the wall of a door-passage in the Necropolis of Marissa; see the work by Peters and Thiersch (*Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1905), p. 57.

In the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, III, 1919, S. A. B. Mercer publishes a bibliography to the archaeology of the Old Testament, 1914–1917.

The American *Biblical World* ended its existence with the issue of November, 1920, by being merged together with the *American Journal of Theology* into a new periodical to be called the *Journal of Religion*. "The change," say the Editors, "is significant of a re-alignment in religious interest." Thirty-eight years ago William Rainey Harper founded the *Hebrew Student*, which, after successive changes, became the *Biblical World;* upon the way in which this journal furthered a better knowledge of Bible-lands it is not necessary to speak. Perhaps never did it do so much to kindle interest as in its issue of June, 1896. A well-thumbed copy lies before us, containing a surely unique series of articles with numerous illustrations. "Early Palestine" (Hayes Ward); "Early Cities of Palestine" (E. L. Curtis); "Babylonian and Assyrian History, with special reference to Palestine down to the division of the kingdom" (D. G. Lyon); "Sketch of Egyptian History" (Breasted); "Sketch of Canaanitish History to c. 1000 B.C." (G. S. Goodspeed); "Important Movements to Israel prior to c. 1000 B.C." (two articles by I. M. Price and by E. T. Harper), etc. One must regret the death of so useful a journal, even though the subject to which its successor is to be devoted has become one demanding a journal to itself. The Editors explain that development in the historical study of the Bible has been confronted with a reaction; anti-intelligence is being organized against intelligence; and the new journal "becomes the fulfilment rather than merely the successor of the *Biblical World*."

S. A. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The American University of Beirut.—Mr. Asad Rustum, M.A., Instructor in History at the University, writes from Beirut, December 29, 1920, a letter which will interest our readers. He says:—"As far as we know, 'civilization arose in the Near East, and Europe obtained it here.' The study of the history of Syria-Palestine and the rest of the countries that come under the term Near East is therefore of use not only to Orientals but to Westerners as well. Much has been done on Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine, to say nothing about Greece, but very little on Syria, not because there is little to be known, but because this country has not been as fortunate as those others. In spite of our financial difficulties we have been able to spare trifling sums here and there to preserve as many of the antiquities of this land as we could. We have recently been able to engage Mr. Woolley, of the British Museum, to rearrange our collection and thus help us in serving science and civilization. Mr. Woolley left London some months ago hoping to resume his excavations on the site of the ancient Hittite capital, but was unable to reach his destination. We made use of the opportunity as it presented itself, in spite of the big deficit on our budget. Among the many earthenware vases in the collection, Mr. Woolley recognized a bowl of local fabric of the late neolithic period—some 5000 years old. The vase is of special importance because only three of its kind exist: one was found in Palestine and is now probably in the Government Museum of Constantinople, the other is in the possession of Mr. Von Heidenstamm, on the coast, not far from Beirut.

"Students of history may be interested to know that Mr. Woolley has found in our collection a part of a clay stopper from a jar, stamped with an Egyptian seal bearing the name of Amenhotep of Egypt; a basalt statue, badly mutilated, probably belongs to the same period. As far as we know these two objects form almost all that has been found in Phoenician soil from this early conquest of the country; we know of very few others besides a little obelisk discovered in the island of Arvad, and preserved by His Excellency the Head of the Lebanon State.

"Egyptian domination, intermittent as it was, lasted until the twelfth century, B.C., when the big wave of European barbarians overran this country and thus helped to overthrow the Egyptian Empire. Aegeans lived with Orientals and Orientals came in contact with Aegeans; both helped to build up the Mediterranean civilization we are so proud of. A tomb group from Gharifa, not far from this city, containing imported Mycenean vases, is preserved in our collection. The tomb is the first of its kind discovered in Phoenicia, and is of importance as giving evidence for the Aegean invasion in question. Pottery, mostly from the Bekā'a, and now in the Museum of this University, shows also strong Cypriote connections and traditions.

"How we wish we had more money to spend on such things, and thus help in saving the antiquities of this country! As a native of this land I recognise the wonderful service your association has rendered to the world in general and to us in particular. Syrians are thankful for what they have had and only wish they could have more of it.

"Most respectfully yours,

"A. J. RUSTUM."

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב ּב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג ּג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד ּד	dh	פ ּפ	p
ה	h	פ	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	שׁ	sh
י	y	שׂ	s
כ	k	ת ּת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Fifty-sixth Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, June 29th. The Chair was taken by the Right Honourable Viscount Bryce, P.C., O.M., D.C.L., etc., who gave an interesting address upon the manifold importance of Palestine, and the necessity of pursuing archaeological investigations more assiduously. Mr. Ormsby-Gore touched upon certain political aspects of the present situation, and the Rev. Father Waggett spoke of the perilous state of things across the Jordan—from an archaeological point of view. The Hon. Treasurer drew attention to the very inadequate means which the Fund has at its disposal if it is to avail itself of the opportunities now open to it. Dr. Hogarth gave a lantern lecture on Askalon. A full account of the proceedings is given below, pp. 123–133.

Much interest has been caused by the news telegraphed from Jerusalem that the Fund's excavations at Askalon have resulted in the discovery of the famous cloister round the great court built by Herod the Great. Josephus describes the wonderful workmanship of this, one only of the many splendid edifices due to the king's ambition; and it will be remembered that Herod himself, according to some of his enemies, was of Philistine origin, whence perhaps his interest in Askalon. The telegram states that statues of Apollo, Venus and Victory, and a giant statue of Herod have been found,

and we shall look forward to further and fuller information from the Director of the Excavations.

The Phaestos disk has attracted some attention in *Notes and Queries*, and in the issue of March 19 (p. 237), other suggestions are cited from Rev. Blaikie's *The Sea Kings of Crete* (p. 264). Further, Mr. Monckton of Victoria, British Columbia, sends an explanation suggested by his acquaintance with Indian picture-writing. He undertakes to say that "if it was submitted to one of the old Indians who were skilled in picture-writing, he would read it at once as a connected story." He then ventures upon an interpretation which he has been good enough to send us. For the present it must be confessed that although some of the old Egyptian palettes, for example, seem to represent the stage towards actual description, the Phaestos disk, when interpreted as picture-writing, does not seem to contain any narrative of importance to justify the care and trouble which the original artists devoted to the disk. In the meanwhile, without prejudging Mr. Monckton's interesting suggestion, we are able to print in this issue the result of Prof. Macalister's fresh investigation of the curious symbols.

We regret to learn of the death of Mr. Herbert E. Clark, of Jerusalem, an authority on palaeolithic and neolithic flints, of which he had a well-arranged collection. Mr. Clark was well known to tourists, especially Americans, and as recently as the last number of the *Quarterly Statement*, sent a communication on the question of crocodiles in Palestine. A few years ago he also sent photographs of some interesting pottery remains discovered at Tell el-Ful (*Quarterly Statement*, 1915, pp. 35 *sqq.*).

We also regret to hear of Archdeacon Dowling's death at the advanced age of eighty-three. He was an assiduous writer upon the Eastern churches, and contributed a number of interesting papers on antiquarian and ecclesiastical subjects in 1896, and from 1907 onwards. He was appointed Archdeacon in Syria in 1906, and retired and came to live in England in 1914, where he continued to carry on his literary work. He was in the midst of the preparation of a book on *Crusaders in the Holy Land* when, at the end of 1915, he was stricken with an illness from which he never recovered.

An interesting discovery of archaeological importance and made by M. Adolphe Carnot is recorded in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences* (Vol. CXV., pp. 243–337). This savant (according to M. Sidersky's report to the Société Asiatique, Dec. 10, 1920) has indicated a scientific method of determining the age of bones exhumed from the ground. It is based upon the relative quantity of fluorine and phosphates, the fluorine increasing according to the length of time the bones have been in the ground. By a simple chemical analysis it is possible, so it is said, to determine the age of bones or the geological epoch to which they belong.

A series of four interesting articles on conditions in Palestine and future economic possibilities appears in *The Times* of April 28, May 6, 17 and 18.

In the April issue of the *Revue Biblique*, pp. 247–277, Father Vincent contributes a valuable monograph on the "Synagogue des affranchis" discovered at Jerusalem, some account of which was given in the *Quarterly Statement*, January, pp. 22 *sqq.* Having had the advantage of access to the excavations conducted by Capt. Weill and M. de la Roque, Prof. Vincent writes with all authority, and his article is now the most substantial study of this most interesting "find." He subjects the text to an exhaustive and penetrating examination, and gives a full discussion of the archaeological and historical background. He is not attracted by M. Clermont-Ganneau's comparison of the palaeography of this text from Ophel with the inscription in the Temple of Herod, a comparison which has important consequences for dating the former.

The Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Beirut sends us the system of transliteration there in use. Apropos of this it may be mentioned that the British Academy appointed a committee "to draw up a practical scheme for the transliteration into English of words and names belonging to the languages of the Nearer East" (*Proceedings*, Vol. VIII); and that a permanent committee on geographical names for British official use is in existence in connection with the Royal Geographical Society.

Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams, M.A., D.S.O., M.C., writes in the *Asiatic Review* on "The Future of Excavation in the Holy Land." In spite of all that has been done and is now projected, innumerable opportunities remain, and all that is needed are funds for the tasks which lay before the excavator. He closes his survey with the following remarks on the newly created Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem :—

"One of the first acts of the new High Commissioner was to request Prof. J. Garstang, Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, to organise a service of Antiquities for Palestine. This work has now been completed, and the 'Antiquities Ordinance of 1920' was published in the *Official Gazette* of October 15. The most interesting feature of the new Department has been the appointment of an Archaeological Advisory Board, composed of representatives of British, American, French, Italian, Jewish, and Moslem interests.

"The Director consults the Board with reference to :—

(*a*) All applications for permits to excavate.

(*b*) The regulation of excavations in the city and district of Jerusalem.

(*c*) The conservation of historical buildings.

(*d*) International questions, and so forth.

"Every effort is being made to encourage and facilitate research and to secure the harmonious co-operation of all whose interests lie in the past and future of the Holy Land.

"In addition to this and its other more 'passive' work of organization and supervision, the Department is undertaking, through its inspectorate, the registration of all historical sites in Palestine. This is a work which cannot be completed in a day, but the survey which Conder and Kitchener so admirably carried out serves as a basis for the new investigators, and the use of a card-index for the codification of their results will facilitate their labours and make these more accessible to the student.

"In all respects, then—and it may be said without reserve—the archaeological future of Palestine is a bright one. The work before us is immense, but the opportunity is proportionately great. Money only is lacking, and when the conditions which at present rule us relax their hold, we may hope to see

the veil withdrawn from that mysterious past which has ever tantalized and fascinated the world."

The Hon. Secretary of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (Mr. Charles E. Mott) has issued an appeal for contributions to the Library.

> "The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem has now commenced its very important work of training the skilled staff necessary for the proper care, exploration, and study of the monuments and ancient sites of Palestine. Our library is still very far from complete, and as there must be many who possess books relating to Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Greece, and the Eastern Mediterranean, which they seldom consult, but which would be invaluable to the school, I venture to appeal for gifts of such volumes, and all other works relating to Palestine and the surrounding countries, including the history of the Mohammedan invasions and of the Crusades, and books of travel. Especially I would ask for the journals and other publications of the Egypt Exploration Society, the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, the British School at Athens, the Hellenic Society, and of other similar societies. Any such gifts should be sent to me at 2, Hinde-street, Manchester-square, W., or I would arrange to collect them."

The Jerusalem correspondent of *The Times* (June 1) writes on the present position of Archaeology in Palestine. In the course of an important statement, from which we are allowed to quote, he remarks that after the liberation of Jerusalem, "over 120 cases of antiquities were discovered, ready packed for transport, which had lain hidden in the city during the war. Some of these had formed the nucleus of local collections in other days, while others seem to have been the fruits of recent excavations. There was no catalogue, and the provenance of each object had to be studiously determined by reference to publications and by comparative methods. These difficulties have been overcome by Mr. Phythian-Adams, of the British School of Archaeology; over 6,000 objects have been catalogued, and a central museum will probably be opened to the public this summer." Local museums are to be encouraged, at Acre, Askalon, Tiberias, etc., all under one "Keeper of Museums."

"In Jerusalem objects of architectural character and larger sculptures will be grouped, if possible, within the Citadel, where rooms in the Hippicus Tower have been prepared." Further, "all excavations on archaeological sites are to be forbidden unless undertaken by properly authorized scientific bodies." Meanwhile, at Acre, "progress has been made with clearing the *débris* from the crypts of the fine medieval buildings for which it is famous. Certain repairs have strengthened the well-known tower at Ramleh, which was in a dangerous condition." The mosaic at Ain Duk has been cleared by the French Archaeological Society (Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne), under Père Vincent, and found to be the site of a very ancient and interesting synagogue. "When the mosaic was exposed it was found necessary for its preservation to take it up. This was skilfully done by Mr. MacKay, and it will probably be arranged within the Citadel. Other conservation on a smaller scale has been done at Jifna, Ramallah, Tiberias, and Caesarea." As regards the future, it is expected that the Franciscans will excavate the site of the synagogue at Tell Hum (Capernaum). Bethshean, Megiddo and Samaria are, it is anticipated, to be taken in hand by the Universities of Philadelphia, Chicago and Harvard respectively.

Palestine (June 18) reports that the work at the Tiberias excavations has been resumed by the Hebrew Archaeological Society. "Very important discoveries are being made, all tending to verify the assumption made by Prof. Housch at the beginning of the work that the building discovered was an ancient magnificent Synagogue. An additional hall has now been discovered containing eleven marble columns carved in Jewish style, also boards, benches and Mosaic and Jewish inscriptions. The most important discovery is that of a seven-branched Menōrah with carved flowers, shoots and buds. There are great expectations of further very important discoveries."

The Committee would be very glad if subscribers would be disposed to present to the Fund sets or volumes of the *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine* and also of the *Quarterly Statement.*

Mr. E. J. Pilcher has kindly prepared a catalogue of the Fund's collection of coins, and in order to make it more interesting has

been good enough to present the following coins and electrotype copies :—

Coins :

Silver dirhem of Harun al-Rashid.
Silver Turkish 5 piastre piece, 1884.
Copper coin of Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine.
Copper coin of Constantine the Great.
Copper coin of Constans I.
Turkish copper coin, 20 paras, 1855.
Turkish copper coin, 10 paras, 1858.
Turkish copper coin, 5 paras, 1879.
Egyptian, 10 paras, 1870.
Turkish billon piastre, 1843.

Electrotype Copies of :

Silver Tetradrachm of Antiochus Epiphanes.
Silver Tetradrachm of Ascalon, with portrait of Cleopatra.
Silver Stater of Tarsus (Pharnabazus) with Aramaic inscriptions.
Copper coin of Byblus, with Phoenician inscription.
Copper coin of Sidon, with Phoenician inscription.
Copper coin of Sidon, showing car of Astarte.
Copper coin of Laodicea, showing shrine of deity.
Copper coin of Philadelphia, showing chariot of Herakles.
Copper coin of John Hyrcanus, with Hebrew inscription.
Copper coin of Antigonus, with Hebrew inscription.
Copper coin of Second Jewish Revolt, with Hebrew inscription of Eleazar the Priest.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land : A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. There are two appendices : the chronology of the

P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin) 29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and to non-subscribers 3*s.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Committee have brought out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in two large sheets, and is, primarily, a traveller's map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete map is 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen to fold, 15*s.* 6*d.* Subscriber's price, 6*s.* unmounted and 13*s.* mounted; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 120–122.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Members are reminded that subscriptions are payable in advance and are now due for 1921.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special donations towards the Askalon excavations:—

	£	s.	d.
A. E. Franklin, Esq.	25	0	0
H. Van den Bergh, Esq.	25	0	0
George Mathieson, Esq....	10	0	0

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1920 was published in the Annual Report, issued with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre was the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites. Probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 7*s.* 6*d.*, by post 8*s.*

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street. Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Please note that the Library and Museum will be closed to the public from Saturday, August 27th to Saturday, September 10th, inclusive.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs, by Jacob Mann ; and *Early Judaism*, by Laurence E. Browne. (Presented by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman.)

The Near East: March 17 : Christianity and Islam, by Rev. L. G. Egerton Smith ; March 24 : The Eastern Mandates ; Nazareth, by Martin S. Briggs ; April 7 : Great Britain and Palestine ; April 21 : St. George of England, by Estelle Blyth ; April 28 : The Call of Babylonia ; May 19 : A Moslem story from Jerusalem, by Estelle Blyth.

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, April 1921 : Egypt and the External World in the time of Akhenaten, by Dr. H. R. Hall ; Magan, Melukha and the Synchronism between Menes and Naram-Sin, by Dr. Allwright.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, July–Dec., 1920.

The Expository Times.

The Palestine Weekly.

Palestine : The Organ of the British Palestine Committee.

Zionist Review.

Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dec., 1920.

Scottish Geographical Magazine, April, 1921.

Hatikwah : Belgian Zionist Bi-monthly.

American Journal of Archaeology, 1921, I.

Jewish Quarterly Review, April, 1921 : Review of Biblical Literature, by Dr. J. Hoschander ; Review of Jewish Medicine, by Dr. S. S. Cohen.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Feb., 1921 : An Assyrian law-code, by M. Jastrow.

Post-biblical Hebrew Literature : An Anthology, Vol. I, Texts, notes and glossary ; Vol. II, English translation. By B. Halper, M.A., Ph.D., Dropsie College, Philadelphia. (Jewish Publication Society, 1921.)

American Journal of Philology, 1921, No. 165 : The Greek of Paul's Epistles compared with the Epistle to the Hebrews, by D. A. Penick.

Art and Archaeology, April, 1921 : Smyrna, "The Infidel City," by G. Horton.

Homiletic Review.

The Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly, April, 1921.

Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, February, 1921.

Revue Biblique, April, 1921 : Discovery of the "Synagogue of the Libertines," by Prof. L. H. Vincent.

Journal Asiatique, Oct.–Dec., 1920 : Review by M. Huart of Maspero and Wiet's *Matériaux pour servir à la Géographie de l'Égypte.*

Palästina-Jahrbuch, 1920. By Prof. Gustaf Dalman.

Palästina-Literatur, Vol. III, 1910–1914. By Peter Thomsen.

Jüdisch-Palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum, by Dr. S. Klein.

Eres Israel (Land of Israel), Past and Present, by D. ben Gorion and J. ben Sabi, New York, 1921. (Yiddish.)

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, Jan., on the excavations at Ashkelon, by Δ ; Feb., Arabic literature on Palestine.

Al-Mashrik : March, Les derniers Martyrs Franciscains dans le Wilayet d'Alep ; Le Christianisme et la Littérature Chrétienne avant l'Islam, by Father L. Cheikho, S.J. ; La Conquête de Mahdia (1551) ; Un Sultan Jésuite, by P. Louis Charles, S.J. ; May, a building by Justinian at Beirut, by Fathers Cheikho and Monterde ; June, The two martyrs of the Lebanon, Sheikhs Philip and Farid Khazen, by Mgr. Abdallah Khouri ; The Tomb of Esdras on the Euphrates, by Mr. Jos. Ghanimeh.

See also below, pp. 146–151.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of ___ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

THE Fifty-sixth Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, June 29th, the Rt. Honourable Viscount Bryce, P.C., O.M., D.C.L., LL.D., etc., in the Chair.

The HON. SECRETARY stated that letters regretting inability to attend the Meeting had been received from Sir George Adam Smith, Rev. Dr. Ewing, the Dean of Westminster, James Melrose, Esq., the Chief Rabbi, Miss Ida Layard, and Dr. Holdsworth Lunn.

The HON. SECRETARY stated that the last General Meeting was quite an ordinary business Meeting, only notable on account of the presence of Sir Herbert Samuel, who made a most friendly and encouraging speech.

The Meeting agreed to accept the Minutes as read, and they were signed.

The CHAIRMAN moved the first resolution, namely, "That the report and accounts for the year 1920, already printed and in the hands of subscribers, be received and adopted." He said:

"That motion will give me an opportunity of saying a few words to you upon the nature of the work and the prospects it holds out, as well as the special reasons why we should prosecute it with assiduity and energy. I cannot, however, hope to say anything new to those who are present, who are deeply interested in the work, and who know as much, in many cases more, than I do of what has been done and what is being attempted. But I may be permitted perhaps to dwell upon a few facts which, although obvious, are at any rate relevant to our purpose.

"In the first place, I may remind you that there is, I suppose, within the whole compass of this small world—as it was which

contained the ancient civilizations—no area which, considering how small it is itself, contains so much of immense historical and archaeological interest as the strip of land which lies east of the Mediterranean—between the Suez Desert on one side and Syria on the north, taking Syria to mean the place where the Ladder of Tyre divides that which we call Palestine from what we call the land of the Phoenicians. That region, and especially the coastal part, was the home of a number of successive civilizations. There is no place where the succession of civilizations, especially the character which each of them bears, can be more profitably studied, and what we have already discovered shows us how much may remain to be learnt, and how much light all discoveries there may throw upon the general relations of the ancient peoples and the ancient civilizations to one another. There is no place where we can study the international history of Asia so well as in Palestine. We have a civilization of incomparable richness and interest, with its own idiosyncrasy and its own character in Egypt; we have another scarcely less fertile in Assyria and Babylon; but the contact point of these ancient civilizations and the contact point with those mysterious Hittites whom we are all puzzling over, is to be found more in Palestine than anywhere else. It was the great highway of trade along the coast; it was certainly the great line of what one would call postal communications, that is to say, postal despatches in cuneiform characters going to and fro between Egypt and Assyria, and *vice versâ*.

"It was also the highway of armies. Those of you who have been to the Dog River in Northern Syria, near Beirut, and seen the tablets of the kings who passed with their armies and recorded their advance, know how extraordinarily interesting this coast was from its strategical importance as the one great route from the North to the South, from the Assyrian and the Hittite regions to Egypt in those early ages. I will not digress to speak about the other or inland route. It is quite sufficient to observe that this one is of the highest possible interest.

"The question which arises before us now is whether we should not use to the utmost the advantages which recent events have given us for pressing forward the work of excavation and exploration, not only in this coastal region marked with the lines of communication and of war, but also over the whole of what we call Palestine in the widest sense, including Trans-Jordan regions as

well as the regions between Jordan and the sea. It is a land about which much has been written by previous workers, many of these British and many American; the names of Sir Charles Warren and Lord Kitchener will, of course, occur to your minds in that connection, as they were among the first who were engaged in the great Palestine survey. And I think before their time others, such as Dr. Robinson from America, did extremely good archaeological work, though, of course, not with anything like the resources and the knowledge which we possess now.

"The first great advantage is that we have got rid of the Turks, who devastated that country and who, from the little I was able to glean when I was there shortly before the War, were detested by the native population.

"Next, we have the great advantage of occupying neutral ground as an archaeological society. There is no place in the world where the nerves which lie close to the skin are so sensitive as they are in Palestine; it is dangerous to touch them even with the end of the finger. What with the Christians and those whom we call Arabs, but who would seem to be rather, at least in the regions west of the Jordan, the remains of the Canaanitish inhabitants speaking Arabic, and what with the native Jews and the Zionists, it is a question of great complexity and one which requires very careful handling. Fortunately, Sir Herbert Samuel, although himself a Zionist, is a man of good sense and moderation, and I think he will deal with all these great difficulties with tact and with judgment. But we have the advantage, as an archaeological body, of having no enmities to arouse in any religious body or in any influential section. The Mussulman peasant and native Effendi are willing for us to go on working there. The Effendi takes no interest in it, but he does not object to us.

"When I was in Egypt many years ago, I was very much interested in seeing the tombs of the ancient Caliphs and other later relics of Mussulman architecture in its brilliant period, and I had a conversation with the Minister of Education, the late Artin Pasha. He told me that he could not get the slightest interest aroused in the Muslims of Egypt to preserve there the ancient tombs or the decaying and disused mosques. So I suppose we shall have no hostility from the Mussulman in prosecuting our archaeological work, and if we discover relics of Moslem structures and find caves with which Moslem legends can be associated, and if

we follow the good example set by General Allenby in paying the greatest respect to Moslem religious feeling, we shall have nothing to fear. The Jews, and especially the Zionists, are very keen on anything which relates to ancient Hebrew history; and the native Christians will be keen on matters belonging to the New Testament (which are comparatively few for the purposes of excavation) and also for Old Testament references.

"These things being so, the present moment is favourable for pushing forward. And you will ask what are the places where the work can best be done, and in what direction can our efforts best be expended? I would not presume to offer an opinion on that subject in the presence of the distinguished scholars and archaeologists who are here and who know infinitely more about it than I do; but I gather it is thought that on the whole one of the best places to begin to work is the coastal plain and at the foot of the hills which join the coastal plain leading to the high mountains. There is this to be said: that while the neglect of the country and the incursions of the sands and all these things have buried some of the old sites—for instance, the site of Gath has never been identified—there is every reason to think that if the improvement of the country goes on, if we create reservoirs of water in the valleys of the Judaean range and begin to irrigate the country, there may be changes in the surface which will make future excavations more difficult, and in the course of which changes objects of great value may be lost.

"It seems very desirable to mark out without delay the sites where excavation should be prosecuted. Philistia with its cities would be a very good region in which to set to work.

"It is curious that this region seems to have attracted the attention of the ancient Greeks. I think I am right in saying that the story of Perseus and Andromeda is attached to the rocks opposite Jaffa, which shows it to be a place of romantic interest, and that the legend of St. George and his Dragon may be that of Perseus come to light in a new form. That region has been comparatively little excavated. We are now at work at Askalon, and I suppose some of the other cities will present equally good opportunities.

"When one comes to the inland portion, there are many sites mentioned in the Old Testament which deserve to be examined; but nowhere shall we find many monuments as different in style,

and seemingly furnishing such successive civilizations, as in the coastal plain. Beyond Jordan you have another region of the greatest possible interest. Eight years ago when I was in that country, I heard that the Circassians had been destroying some of the remains on the Greco-Roman sites. I suppose that has been stopped before now; but the work of destruction may be still going on, and it is very important we should mark out the sites. The present Administration in Palestine has the right to protect all the places in which excavations could be best conducted, in fact all the places where there is any prospect that discoveries may be made—and there must be many of them in the Trans-Jordanic regions. There is also Petra. The visitor to Petra gets the impression that much remains to be done. In the central part of the valley, which was the inhabited part of the town, the rubbish has been only partly excavated, and I take it discoveries of the greatest interest might be expected there. It would be a costly business, perhaps, but it might perhaps be done safely now, with a small guard. We may expect to learn much of immense interest, not so much with regard to Biblical times as in reference to later times, in the short time during which the Romans were in the place and in the still shorter time when the Crusaders built their castles there. There is a very ample field open all over Palestine, in one way or another, without going forward into Phoenicia. I ought to say, I suppose, that much might be done to find out something about the Hittites: how they came there, how they were dispersed among the other ancient tribes; what relation they bore to the Hittite kingdoms in the North. All these are large questions, which many of you have probably studied, but which most of us have only studied sufficiently to know how much still remains to be discovered. If we could find Hittite sites in Palestine, it would probably prove to be of high interest.

"Well, when we have so large and promising a field, you will naturally ask what are our resources for prosecuting enquiries into it? The Report will tell you the present state of our funds. The sum at our disposal leaves much to be desired. I am only saying what pretty nearly every promoter of enterprise in connection with learning and science is compelled to say. All the money the country has at present seems to be spent in amusements; and those who desire to spend it on matters of more permanent

value have no funds available. But there must be minds which are not entirely occupied with cricket, golf, racing, boxing and moving pictures; and there must still be some treasure-houses which we could unlock if we could bring proper arguments to bear upon their owners. One economy, a comparatively small one by which much, at any rate, might be saved, it seems worth while to consider, namely, whether this Society could enter into some arrangement with the British School of Jerusalem by which economies could be effected. The two bodies are working harmoniously together now. There are many of our societies about which the same might be said. I have often wondered why the British School in Athens and the Hellenic Society might not pool their funds, and the same might be said of the Society of Roman Studies and the British School at Rome.

"I refer to these as illustrations of the means by which efficiency might be increased without extra expense, possibly even expense saved. These are questions which, of course, engage the attention of the Committee. Any facts we can give you will be given in the hope that you will endeavour to use them by making more widely known the aims, the achievements and the needs of the Society.

"With these few observations, which I ought to apologise for offering to you, for most of you know more about the subject than I do, I now move the adoption of the Report." (Applause.)

The resolution was seconded by Prof. Buchanan Gray, and carried.

The Hon. Secretary.—It is an annual and melancholy duty of the Hon. Secretary to report our serious losses during the preceding year, losses which we hope may be made up to some extent this year. I have to-day to mention the death of Prof. Sanday, of Oxford, whose interest in Palestine is well known, and whose books on the New Testament probably most of you have seen.

We have also to lament the death of the Rev. Archdeacon Dowling, whom many of you knew personally for many years in Palestine. He was extremely interested in the work of the Fund, and he was Acting Hon. Secretary in Jerusalem for some years. Also Major-Gen. C. E. Cumberland, of the Royal Engineers, an Indian Mutiny veteran, who was a supporter for many years.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore.—Lord Bryce, it is my duty to move the second resolution, namely, that T. E. Lawrence, Esq., and Sir Wyndham Deedes be elected to serve on the General Committee. I do not think we could have two more powerful additions to our Committee than those two gentlemen. Mr. Lawrence is described as T. E. Lawrence, Esq., by his own wish; he is, of course, more familiarly known to the general public as Colonel Lawrence. He once told me, three years ago, that he thought he was the only full colonel in the British Army who never told anybody to "form fours," and now at his own request, he has relinquished all military titles and become an official of the Colonial Office, where he is Adviser on Arab affairs to the Secretary of the State, and particularly valuable, especially to archaeologists. He is almost as well known as an archaeologist as he is for the part he played in the War, and I might almost say in the attempts to make peace in the Middle East. But now he is an official of a department of the Government in this country.

Since the last annual report of this Fund the control of Mesopotamia and Palestine has been transferred from the Foreign Office and the India Office respectively, to a new Middle Eastern department of the Colonial Office. This is a new department which is in its infancy, but let us hope that that department, under Mr. Churchill, will take a kindly interest in the work of archaeology and in protecting and doing all it can in the interests of the antiquities on the spot, and in preserving and exploring suitable places.

The second member is Sir Wyndham Deedes, whose recent honour deserves our most sincere congratulations. Those of us who were in Palestine during the War knew him just as Colonel Deedes, of the Intelligence Section in Palestine, and that country is indeed fortunate in having as its chief civil official, under Sir Herbert Samuel, a man of the intellectual and moral calibre of Sir Wyndham Deedes, whose unfailing tact, extraordinary capacity for work and breadth of mind on all the thorny political questions which he has to deal with, as well as his amazing patience and administrative skill, always excited the admiration of anybody who came into contact with him. And even if he cannot attend our Committee, we should be doing right in putting him on the Committee, not merely because he is an official of the Government, but particularly because he merits it on personal grounds.

Lord Bryce in his opening address said he hoped we had heard the last of the "unspeakable Turk." I wish we had. The trouble I see about our work in Palestine, and about any work of this kind throughout the Middle East, is due to the fact that we have not made peace with Turkey, we have not made peace of any kind with that country. This difficulty is reacting on the whole political situation in the Middle East. And in Palestine in particular, we are still carrying on an interim Government; that is to say, the much-talked-of Mandate is still in a draft stage, and the goods are not yet delivered. We have not got a Treaty of Peace with Turkey, nor have we got the final terms of the Mandate for Palestine.

It was on the Agenda of the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva last week, but it has again been put off, and it looks as if it may be put off for some considerable time to come. I think that unfortunate from many points of view. There can be little doubt that all the recent news from Palestine points to the continuation of considerable unsettlement in that country, and that unsettlement is shared by all the neighbouring countries as well. The situation in the Middle East, whether we look to Egypt, to Palestine, to Syria, to Arabia, or to Armenia which I know is near Lord Bryce's heart, or to Asia Minor, or even to the Balkans—the situation is anything but what we should like it to be now three years after the Armistice. That is the result of a large number of circumstances, some of which, I am sure, ought to have been foreseen and which were not foreseen, and some it was not possible to foresee. But we all hope the time is coming shortly when something like a permanent settlement and a permanent policy to be pursued in those countries by those who are responsible for our Government will be made clear. Until it is clear one cannot help feeling that work is to a certain extent hampered, and I cannot help expressing the wish that the whole question of the Middle East will receive in the future rather more grip on the part of the responsible Statesmen among the Allies than they have shown in recent years. I beg to move the resolution which I read.

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. Father Waggett, who hoped that the Fund would go on multiplying its efforts and not wait for the peace with Turkey. He continued: "The state of things across the Jordan is perilous in the extreme, archaeologically. I was there soon after the Armistice, and several times later was

able to see the destruction of the Graeco-Roman remains, and it goes on apace, by innocent people who think this is proper material for making roads with. These prepared blocks look as if they were specially made for making roads, and when I was there no power on earth seemed able to check it. I used the name of General Allenby, without authority, and there was a check for a time, but it has still gone on. Sir Wyndham Deedes is now chief officer of the Administration, and Mr. Lawrence has lately become, as you have heard, closely connected with Mandatory power in both countries. If we have Mandatory power with local administration on the alert, something may be done even in countries which are outside the scope of the Mandate. Arabia, unfortunately, is not archaeologically guarded in the terms of the Mandate so securely as Palestine is, but we hope these new Members of the Committee will by propinquity to that unhappy country, archaeologically, be able to do something to preserve its remains."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Captain TEICHMAN, D.S.O., proposed and C. E. MOTT, ESQ., seconded the re-election of the Executive Committee, with the addition of Lieut.-Colonel E. M. Jack, C.M.G., D.S.O., of the General Staff of the War Office. This was seconded and carried unanimously.

Dr. Hogarth gave a lantern lecture on Askalon, in the course of which he said that the excavation of Askalon had occupied two seasons since the last General Meeting. The Fund had gone there because it was the most suitable (indeed almost the only one possible) of the sites of the five great Philistine cities to explore; but though easier than the rest, it still presented considerable difficulties owing to the gardens and fields upon it. Having dug all round the fringe of the Philistine country, at Lachish, Gezer and Bethshemesh, the Fund wished to investigate the Philistine civilization itself and to learn who this people was which occupied such a narrow fringe of the coast, and why its civilization appeared so formidable to the Jews.

Showing views of the sea-front and of the crown of the site before excavation, Dr. Hogarth proceeded to summarize the results of Prof. Garstang's explorations, inaugurated by H.M. High Commissioner. Photographs of the latter's party and of the excavation camp at the west end of the site appeared on the screen. He described first the work done on the scarp at the

north where untouched deposits going down to the period of the XIXth Egyptian Dynasty were examined level by level. These, covering the whole Philistine Age from about 1200 B.C. onwards, afford a most valuable "calendar" marked by different types of painted potsherds, by which other strata all over the site and on all Philistine sites will be dated hereafter.

On so large and deep a site the early seasons must be expected to be spent in tentative exploration, designed to find the whereabouts of things generally. Prof. Garstang was led by a right instinct to test the region east of the main longitudinal street, since this lies low, and there it is likely that the Sacred Lake and Shrine of Derketo, the great goddess of the place, half fish, half human, were situated. He hit on a great building of later times, but probably not on the Shrine and Lake sought, though maybe on the "Peace Pool" seen by Antoninus Martyr. Views were shown of this great complex, which seems to have been remodelled at various dates, and to have fulfilled the purposes of both a basilica and a theatre as well as a sanctuary of Fortune, and to have been one of the public edifices abutting on the Forum to west. Various statues, architectural members, and inscriptions were shown, the most interesting being an honorific decree in favour of one of Titus' centurions, whose very odd name suggests a North European origin. Two years earlier he had been in Egypt but in another Legion, and had scrawled his name with those of two other centurions on the foot of one of the Colossi at Thebes, commemorating the fact that at such an hour on such a day in April of the year 65 A.D. all those had "heard Memnon" salute the dawn.

After referring to the fresh discovery of "Herod's Stoa" west of the main longitudinal street (of which only a telegraphic announcement had yet been received), the speaker concluded by illustrating the fine Crusading ruins on the site which date from King Richard's restoration, following the wholesale destruction effected by Saladin. The whole series of views showed how long and interesting a history Askalon had. It is first heard of under the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty, and there are indications on the site of a long pre-Philistine period, during which it was held perhaps by Caphtorim. Peculiar types of weapons, etc., discovered there and not represented at Gezer, argue that Philistine civilization was markedly distinct from that of the Canaanite and Jewish

settlements of the inner country; and most probably it was altogether foreign and sea-borne. He appealed for further funds to develop this interesting excavation, saying that the penalty of selecting a great site was its expense. But, when a great site had been selected, duty and policy both dictated the devotion of several seasons' work to the place. It had taken eight seasons to get at the heart of Carchemish.

The Hon. Treasurer.—Ladies and Gentlemen, with your permission I beg to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Bryce for so kindly coming here to preside in the midst of so many pressing engagements and for his admirable address. Lord Bryce has told us that we have an excellent opportunity for excavation, and we ought to take full advantage of it. We have something like £3,000 available, but we shall certainly want a good deal more if we are to do justice to the site. Therefore, as Hon. Treasurer for this Fund, I can only add my suggestion that it is our duty, if the Fund is to go on in a proper way, to do what we can to increase its membership and to get it up to the number which we had formerly. We are not receiving the money which we ought to have and which we had before the War. As Dr. Hogarth has just said, we have now an admirable site for exploration, and Lord Bryce has told us we have a fine opportunity in the freedom we now enjoy for excavating. Let us take advantage of this happy conjunction.

A vote of thanks to Lord Bryce was carried by acclamation.

Lord Bryce in replying said that it was a labour of love to come to bear testimony to the admirable work which the Fund has done to invoke support for it; it was an additional pleasure to have light, even the first glimpse of light, on the civilization of one of these ancient Philistine cities so lucidly explained by Dr. Hogarth.

On the proposition of the Hon. Secretary, the Society of Antiquaries was thanked for the loan of the room.

The proceedings then terminated.

PHILISTINE COIN FROM LACHISH.

By E. J. Pilcher.

On looking over the Museum of the Fund at 2, Hinde Street, I noticed a small silver coin, which does not appear to have attracted the attention it deserves. It was dug up by Dr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, when he was making surveys in Palestine in April, 1890; but he does not say anything about it in his *Tell el-Hesy—Lachish* (London, 1891); nor is the object mentioned by Dr. F. J. Bliss in *A Mound of Many Cities* (London, 1894, 2nd ed. 1898); though Mr. Ovenden points out to me that Dr. Petrie reported the find, and described the coin in the *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1890, p. 227.[1] The designs on the two sides of this interesting little piece may be seen in fig. 3, as follows:—

Obverse.—Bearded head, looking to right, wearing a diadem. Archaic style, with full eye shown on side of face. On the back part of the head, a mask, facing front. All in plain circle.

Reverse.—To the left, the Egyptian Besa, flourishing a falchion in his right hand. To the right, a lion standing erect upon its right hind leg; left fore-paw on breast of Besa, left hind-paw on his knee. Tail curved and erect. All in incuse square, surrounded by straight line.

AR ↑↑ Diameter, 0·6 inch (15 mm.).

Weight, 55·6 grains (3·602 grammes). (Phoenician Standard.)

This is one of a class of coins which was long a puzzle to numismatists, and tentatively ascribed by them to Tarsus in Cilicia. In 1877, the well-known Dutch antiquary, Mr. J. P. Six van Hilligom, discovered that several examples bore the Phoenician letters עזה *'Azzah*, *i.e.*, Gaza; which, from the fifth century B.C. onwards, was the capital of Philistia; and it is now universally recognised that the series originated in Southern Palestine.

[1] The coin was much oxidised; but has been successfully cleaned by Mr. Ready, of the British Museum. The cleaning has brought out several important features, so that the following description is much more detailed than that of Dr. Petrie.

[*To face p.* 134.

Palestine Exploration Fund. *Plate* I.

Fig. 1 — Athenian Tetradrachm.

Fig. 2 — Philistine Imitation.

Fig. 3. — Silver coin from Tell el-Hesy.

To face p. 135.]

Fig. 4. Silver Coin of Ebusus.

Fig. 5. Egyptian Silver Coin.

Fig. 6. Egyptian Silver Coin.

Fig. 7. Engraved gem.

Fig. 8. Engraved gem.

This coinage was called into existence by circumstances of Greek history. The wealth and power of Athens were derived from the possession of the silver mines of Laurium; and, after about 550 B.C., there was a very large issue of silver coins, distinguished by their bearing on one side the head of Athena; and, on the other, an owl and sprig of olive, with the Greek letters AΘE, as may be seen in our fig. 1. The head of the goddess was executed in a curious archaic style, the full eye being shown on the side of the face, as is usual in primitive art, and may be seen in the sculptures and paintings of Egypt and Assyria. The reason for the persistence of this type to later times was that the Athenian silver had an extensive circulation in Barbarian (*i.e.*, non-Greek) countries; and it was thought inadvisable to alter its design, for fear of disturbing its credit. These archaic coins travelled immense distances, considering the conditions of the ancient world; and specimens have been found in central India, and in the extreme south of Arabia.

The outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C. put a sudden stop to this export of silver. The expenses of the war absorbed the resources of the Athenians, and the yield of the silver mines began to fail. The Barbarians no longer received the supplies of coins to which they had become accustomed, and they commenced to make imitations of their own, an example of which is shown in our fig. 2. At first these imitations were very exact; but they rapidly became modified; and soon a variety of new types appeared. The important city of Gaza was evidently the centre of a large issue, which circulated in Southern Palestine and North-Western Arabia. As far as the art is concerned, most of the pieces must have been executed by Greek die-engravers, which is not surprising, when we reflect on the growing influence of the Greeks in the South-Eastern Mediterranean. But the subjects became more and more oriental as time went on; and, when the coins did bear inscriptions, the lettering was Aramaic, or Phoenician. In his "*B.M. Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*" (London, 1914), Mr. Geo. F. Hill entitles these coins "the Philisto-Arabian series"; "the provenance of which indicates that they circulated in North-Western Arabia, on the borders of Philistia and Egypt."[1] One of the most discussed of these coins is a unique piece which has been

[1] Pp. lxxxiii. ff., 176 ff. Also see Ernest Babelon, *Traité des monnaies Grécques et Romaines* (Paris, 1910), Deuxieme Partie, tome 2, pp. 637 ff., Pls. CXXIII, CXXIV. Dr. A. R. S. Kennedy, *Quarterly Statement*, 1914, p. 195.

in the British Museum Collection over a hundred years. It bears on its reverse three Phoenician letters יהו *Yahu*, which cannot be anything else than the Hebrew "Yahweh" (Hill, pp. lxxxvi, 181, Pl. XIX, 29); although it was not until 1892 that the equivalence was first pointed out by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau at the Collège de France.

A word should be said about the weights of this money. The Athenian silver is wonderfully accurate and uniform when we consider the clumsy methods of manufacture in antiquity; and it was struck on the Attic standard of 135 grains to the Stater. The earliest Philistine examples are very close to this; but they are never quite of full weight. The later ones rapidly sank to the Phoenician standard of 112 grains to the Stater. The present piece from Lachish is worn, and has evidently been in circulation for an appreciable period. It is a half-stater, or "drachma," and when it left the mint it must have weighed rather more than the true norm of 56 grains.

As before remarked, the designs upon these Philisto-Arabian coins are very varied. As far as the head itself is concerned, the obverse of the Tell el-Hesy specimen is like several already known. The mask upon the back of the head is a peculiar feature; but it is not entirely novel. Babelon illustrates a similar pattern, but from another die (in his example the large head has no ear visible). In addition to this one, he shows a coin which has a half-mask, or visor, on the back of the head; but in this case the mask is at right angles; that is to say, the eyes are one above the other, or, as M. Babelon expresses it:—"The nape of the neck is concealed behind a mask of Besa, placed sideways, and in front face. This mask has large goggle eyes, ears standing out, and a flattened nose. It ends at the mouth, the upper jaw with the teeth being alone indicated." (*Traité*, 2me. Partie, tome 2, p. 658, *seq.*, Pl. CXXIV, figs. 7 and 11.)[1]

A more numerous variety of these Philisto-Arabian coins has a head with two faces, like Janus looking both ways. Similar Janiform heads figure on some of the issues of Lampsacus. The B.M. Collection possesses specimens of the Janus heads, but not of a head with a mask behind it, as in the Tell el-Hesy example.

[1] Both Babelon's heads with masks are on the *reverse* of the coins; not on the *obverse* like ours from Lachish.

The reverse of our coin is quite fresh. Nothing resembling it has been noticed by Hill, or Six, or Babelon. Bes, or Besa, is best known to us from Egypt; but he is a frequent and familiar subject in Phoenician art. In Egypt he is usually a god of mirth and dancing; though he is sometimes figured as a destroying force, carrying two knives, or a sword and shield.[1] In Phoenicia, on the other hand, Besa is primarily a god of conflict; and he combines in himself the characteristics of the Greek Herakles, and the Babylonian Gilgames. He is generally portrayed struggling with lions and other monsters. The most imposing example of this is the Colossus of Amathus, now at Constantinople. This is a statue of Besa 14 feet high, and 6 feet across the shoulders. He holds up a lion by the hind legs, and makes the animal spout water out of its mouth. It is true, the head of the lion was a separate piece of stone, which is now missing; but an orifice running through the statue at that point leaves no doubt as to the object of the figure.[2]

From the numismatic point of view Besa is remarkable because he is the chief type on a peculiar series of coins issued at Ebusus (now Ibiza) in the Balearic Islands. They date from the end of the third, or beginning of the second century B.C. The silver pieces bear on the obverse a figure of Besa grasping a writhing serpent in the left hand, and holding some kind of a weapon in the right. On the reverse is a bull, see fig. 4. The copper coins have the same obverse; and on the reverse are the Punic letters אי בסם *'i Besam* = "the Island of Besas" which in Latin became Ebusus; and in modern Spanish is well preserved as Ibiza.[3]

Returning, however, to our more immediate subject, the Philisto-Arabian series, it may be said that there are four small coins in the B.M. Collection (Hill, p. 182) with the *head* of Besa alone (not the full-length figure) but they are later in date than our example, and somewhat different in workmanship. Babelon also

[1] Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians* (London, 1904), pp 284–288.

[2] *Gazette Arch.*, 1879, Pl. XXI. Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia* (London, 1885), Vol. I, p. 65, fig. 21; Vol. II, p. 165, fig. 110, p. 211, fig. 142.

[3] Dr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Historical Studies* (London, 1911), p. 30, "The Island of Besa." Aloiss Heiss, *Description Générale des Monnaies antiques de l'Éspagne* (Paris, 1870), pp. 421–427, Pls. LXIII, LXIV. E. Huebner, *Monumenta Linguae Ibericae* (Berlin, 1893), p. 98. Antonio Vives, *Estudio de Arqueologia Cartaginesa* (Madrid, 1917).

illustrates several pieces with the head of Besa—or of Silenus, who seems to have been confused with him by the Greek die-engravers.

When we consider the frequency of Phoenician groups representing Besa fighting with lions, it is remarkable that the Tell el-Hesy specimen is the first *coin* with such a device. There are several Phoenician and Cilician examples showing the Persian King stabbing a lion; and this raises the question as to whether the present type has anything to do with that. In 366 B.C. there was a widespread rebellion against the Persians; and the Phoenicians threw off their allegiance to the Great King, trusting to the support of the Egyptians, strengthened by an army of Greek mercenaries. In 352 B.C. there was another rebellion in Phoenicia, which was suppressed by Artaxerxes III. Either of these dates would suit our coin; and we may see in it a mark of antagonism to the Persian rule. The Egypto-Phoenician Besa takes the place of the Great King, and shows himself victorious over the rampant lion!

We may say that this Philisto-Arabian series extended from the death of Perikles at Athens in 429 B.C. to the capture of Gaza by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. After this latter event, there was no scope for Barbarian money, for the country was flooded with the plentiful coinage of Alexander himself, and his successors, the Seleucid Kings of Syria, and the Ptolemies of Egypt. As a consequence, it is to be observed that our Tell el-Hesy coin belongs to much the same period as the famous Elephantine Papyri. It will be remembered that the central document of these papyri was a petition addressed by the Jewish colony at Elephantine to Bagoas, the Persian governor of Judaea, to Yehohanan, the High Priest of Jerusalem, and to the sons of Sanaballat of Samaria; all dated in the seventeenth year of Darius II, *i.e.*, 407 B.C. Prof. Clermont-Ganneau has recently demonstrated that there is another numismatic link with Elephantine. Coin collectors have long been familiar with imitations of the Athenian silver that have always come from Egypt, two specimens of which will be seen in our figs. 5 and 6. They are very well executed, and they are marked on the reverse with three signs, which may be a degradation of the Greek ΑΘΕ.

In addition, there are four Aramaic letters. In 1872 Dr. Otto Blau, of Odessa, read these letters as סרגן = *Sargon*, or *Saragani*, which he proposed to associate with the Σαραγάνης, mentioned in the *Periplus of the Red Sea* 52, as a Hindu prince concerned in the Egyptian trade. Dr. Blau's rendering of the several

characters cannot be entertained, as it is not supported by any of the other Aramaic legends of this period which have been deciphered. Therefore Saraganes must be considered as being out of the question from the point of view of epigraphy. Mr. J. P. Six was more accurate in his reading in 1888; but he was misled by the fact that in some specimens the final letter looks more like a *Kuph* than *Nun*. He proposed to render the inscription סויך = *Sawīk*. Arrian, in his *Anabasis* II, xi, 8, mentions that Σαβάκης, Satrap of Egypt, was killed at the battle of Issus; and Mr. Six suggested that the *Sawīk* of the coin represented this Sabakes. Although the resemblance between the two words was not very evident, the Sabakes theory has hitherto been adopted by most numismatists for want of a better.

However, the perspicacity of Prof. Clermont-Ganneau has at last resolved the problem. He has shown that the four letters are really סוין, *Sewīn*, *i.e.* Syene; and it is to be observed that this fuller Aramaic orthography is much nearer to the Greek Συήνη than either the סונה of Ezekiel xxix, 10 (R.V. *Seveneh*), or the סון, *Sewene* of the Elephantine Papyri. Like Gaza, Syene was an outpost of the Persian Empire, and the starting-point for caravans travelling into the territories of the Outer Barbarians. Consequently, like Gaza, the merchants of Syene were constrained to supplement the scarcity of Athenian silver by striking imitations; and, as the Philistines put the name of Gaza on their coins in Aramaic letters, so the Egyptians inscribed the name of Syene upon theirs in the same alphabet.[1]

In 405 B.C. Amyrtaeus drove the Persians out of Egypt; and thus Philistia found itself in the unenviable position of being a border state. After a series of wars, the Persians succeeded in reconquering Egypt in 340 B.C., and this was followed about eight years later by the conquests of Alexander.

This brings us to the main question; and that is the relation of Dr. Petrie's coin to the chronology of the ruins at Tell el-Hesy. Although the learned archaeologist did not rely upon numismatics,

[1] Barclay V. Head, *B.M. Coins of Attica* (London, 1888), p. xxxii, p. 25, Pl. VII, fig. 1. Babelon, *Traité* II, pp. 607, 635 and 675. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1877, p. 223; 1888, p. 132; 1895, p. 206; 1908, p. 197. *Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Études*, 1919, p. 34. *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 1919, p. 73.

but upon pottery, the coin fully supports his conclusions. In a preliminary investigation of six weeks' duration, Dr. Petrie decided that the mound of el-Hesy contained nine superposed layers of ruins, ranging from about 1700 B.C. to the Greek period (*Quarterly Statement*, 1890, p. 227). This was confirmed by the more extensive excavations conducted by Dr. Bliss in 1891, 1892 and 1893; but, as he was not positive about the two lowest strata, he preferred to speak of eight superposed cities (*Mound of Cities*, Pl. II, pp. 128, 129). City III was signalised by the discovery of a cuneiform tablet, one of the Tell el-Amarna series, dated about 1400 B.C. In City VI Dr. Bliss found an unmistakable fragment of a Greek red-figured vase; that is to say, the type which has red figures of human beings on a black ground (*Mound*, pp. 121, 136, fig. 245) dating from about 450 B.C. The coin we are now discussing was dug up by Dr. Petrie in the north-west corner of what Dr. Bliss called City VII, at the base of the latest wall, together with "a Greek vase with pattern which looks as late as the Vth cent. B.C.; and a chip of early red-figured vase about 450 B.C., or 400 probably; showing that the Tell was occupied after the Captivity" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1890, p. 227). The appearance of these fragments of Greek pottery is explained by the extensive employment of Greek mercenaries by the Persians in their wars against Egypt; and the Egyptians in their wars against Persia, in the troubles and rebellions in Phoenicia and Palestine between 400 and 340 B.C.; for the Greek condottieri were quite impartial, and fought for whichever side chose to pay them. Lachish, or Tell el-Hesy, was probably the station of a garrison; and it must have shared the fortunes of the various campaigns which had their theatre in this district; but when Coele-Syria and Egypt were united under the early Ptolemies, the site was abandoned, as of no further military importance; for it was no longer on a frontier. Thus Bliss and Petrie found no remains later than the Macedonian period. The discovery of the Philisto-Arabian coin is still more easy of comprehension, because Tell el-Hesy is only seventeen miles from Gaza, the centre of issue of these remarkable pieces; and the strong fortress which was the key of the adjacent territory.

Glyptics and numismatics are allied arts, for a seal is essentially a piece of wax impressed from an engraved stone: and a coin is a piece of metal impressed from a die; and the same artist often designs both gems and dies. We therefore figure two ancient

engraved gems for comparison with the coin we are now discussing. Fig. 7 is a sard, formerly in the Blacas Collection. It represents Melpomene, the tragic Muse, wearing a mask at the back of the head, in a similar fashion to the coin from Lachish, and the two examples described by M. Babelon. It is needless to remark that a mask was the special appanage of the ancient actor. Although the theatre was an important feature in Greek life, it very rarely appears in purely Hellenic art. In Roman Imperial times, however, the stage and its accessories were a favourite theme; and the mask in its several varieties was a frequent subject for the engraver. The stone illustrated is three or four centuries later than our coin; but it presents the same device upon a larger scale, and will serve to demonstrate how the antique artist was in the habit of treating it.

Fig. 8 is a scarab of green jasper, found in a Punic grave at Tharros, in Sardinia, together with coins of the third century B.C. It exhibits Besa wrestling with a couple of lions, and is an example of carefully balanced design, and an evidence of the popularity of Besa throughout the Phoenician world.[1]

All the illustrations, except fig. 3, are from casts supplied by the British Museum; and the writer is greatly indebted to Mr. Geo. F. Hill, the Keeper of Coins and Medals, for valuable information and assistance.

THE PHAESTOS DISC.

By Prof. R. A. S. Macalister, Litt.D.

I have read with much interest, but without complete conviction, the article upon the Phaestos Disc in the January *Quarterly Statement*. I do not desire to defend, *contra mundum*, the attempt at an interpretation which I put forth some time ago, and to which the author of the article in question refers. Everything about this singular document is unknown—its purport, its language, its script, and its ultimate provenance—and all attempts, without exception, to pierce the obscurity surrounding it are at best conjectures which

[1] A. H. Smith, Catalogue of Engraved Gems (London, 1888), Pl. C, No. 173; Pl. G, No. 754.

must await their chance of confirmation or refutation whenever some further discovery shall cast a ray of light on the problem.

Indeed, were I re-writing now what I said about the Disc in previous publications, I should lay less emphasis upon the superficial resemblance that certain characters bear to letters in the Old Semitic alphabet, upon the *Pulasati* analogies of the plumed head-dress, and upon the chance that the object happened to be found in Crete. The plumed head-dress is not *peculiar* to the Pulasati, and, indeed, it is not shown in all the Egyptian representations of that people. It is to be seen also among the American Redskins, and in the wild folk depicted in the early stone-age rock-paintings of Spain—at Alpera, for example.[1] Therefore there may be nothing more than chance coincidence in the Philistine-like head, represented in my list of signs by the symbol *M*. Moreover, the disc is probably, as I now see, not native Cretan. For if it were, assuredly the numerous excavations that have been made in the island would have produced other examples of its remarkable script, and still more of its peculiar technique. The essential fact in the whole mystery is the nature of the writing—the inscription being printed with a set of stamps, probably resembling those used by book-binders. This indicates an office of some sort where such writings were prepared as a matter of routine. It does not seem probable that a private person would take the trouble of making a set of stamps for occasional use. The handiworks of this postulated office should therefore be more abundant in Crete than they are if it had been established upon the island.

The document was therefore imported from abroad, like the Tell el-Amarna letters in Egypt. But such imported documents, in nine cases out of ten, are of an official nature—treaties, contracts, diplomatic or other correspondence, and the like. Literary or religious texts, and musical compositions in a strange and complex notation, would be of little interest outside the regions in which they were produced; and while it cannot be said to be absolutely impossible, it is at least very unlikely that any such would be imported and preserved in the archives of the Cretan palace of Phaestos.

And, once more, documents produced mechanically in an office, as we have seen that the disc most probably was, would be more

[1] See *L'Anthropologie*, Vol. 23 (1912), p. 529 ff.

likely to be official or legal than literary, religious, or artistic. We can hardly avoid picturing a professional scribe or notary when we look at a tablet thus printed with specially prepared stamps. But such functionaries are seldom called upon to write poems, religious hymns, or musical compositions. They write public or private business documents, and thus the probability that the disc is of this nature is increased.

Until we know something about the language of the disc it is useless to indulge in controversy as to its nature; we are merely beating the air. I shall therefore not occupy space in considering *seriatim* the objections which the author of the paper in the *Quarterly Statement* has raised to the interpretation of the inscription as a literary document in an unknown phonetic or ideographic script: I need only say that some of the difficulties which he suggests do not trouble me. Consider, for instance, the mark in which I, with some others, have seen something analogous to the Devanāgarī *virāma*. (For me, the most serious objection to this interpretation is that its resemblance to the Devanāgarī sign in external appearance makes the coincidence very remarkable.) This identification suggests that the signs are syllabic, each denoting a consonant followed by a vowel, and that when the vowel is to be cut off, the *virāma* stroke is drawn. Thus, a sign might mean KO, but with the *virāma* it means K only. It is objected that occasion would arise when the *virāma* would be required in the middle of a word, whereas it never actually occurs except at the end. Not necessarily. From Finland to the South Sea Islands there are languages which eschew all but the very simplest combinations of consonants in their words, even in foreign loan-words. Thus, Finnish reduces the Swedish *strand* (shore) to *ranta*. The easy combination *nt* which survives in this word might without difficulty be provided for in a syllabary such as is suggested. Similarly the Cairene newsboys endeavour to make tourists purchase a local paper, the *Sphinx*, under the name *Isfinkes*. But the cutting off of the *final* vowel of a word is often of special grammatical importance, and it involves an emphasis on the preceding consonant. This is the case, for instance, in the genitive plural of feminine and neuter words in Russian. In such a language it would be natural for a special symbol to denote the syntactic loss of the final vowel and the reinforcement of the preceding consonant.

There is just one more philological point which may be referred to. The author of the paper finds a difficulty in the apparent

alliterativeness of the inscription. This I endeavoured to account for, in my previous paper on the subject, by a grammatical rule that words in apposition have the same prefix; but I did not observe a possible deduction that might be drawn from the rule, if it were established.

This is involved with the problem of the provenance of the disc. The character called δ in my list, resembling as it does the Lycian tombs, has caused scholars to look to Asia Minor as its land of origin. But Asia Minor has yielded nothing comparable to the script, and the analogy between the character and the tomb is, after all, only superficial. Apart from this resemblance, the ensemble of the characters make one think of *Africa*. The scanty costume, not to say nudity, of the human figures, the loin-cloth in the character *a*, the obesity of the woman *d*, the face-scarification (or the large earrings) in the shaven head *e*, all suggest the tropical continent. Even the "Lycian tomb" might equally well represent some sort of kraal.

Now it is at least a curious coincidence that it is just in the languages of Africa that we find a rule analogous to that which I traced in the inscription. I have no knowledge, either practical or theoretical, of these tongues, so am drawing a bow very much at a venture. But I happen to have on my shelves a copy of Hetherwick's *Introductory Handbook of the Yao Language*, and referring to this I find the rule as to prefix-assonance stated thus: "All nouns are divided into a certain number of classes, according to their initial syllables. Every word in the sentence which is in agreement with the noun takes this syllable, or a modification of it, as its characteristic or significant syllable." Thus, *liwago*, plural *mawago*, means "axe." The singular belongs to a class of which the significant syllable is *li*, the plural has for its significant syllable *ga*. "A little axe" would be *kawago*, plural *tuwago*, characteristic syllables *ka* and *tu* respectively. Now if we take the following sentence, which I borrow from Hetherwick, "This axe is mine, it is not lost, your axe is lost," and change "axe" in turn to "axes," "little axe," "little axes," we produce the following four variations:—

LI-*wago a*-LI LI-*li* LY-*angu* *ngini*-LI-*jasika*, LY-*enu* 'LI-*la* LI-*jasiche*
ma-wago a-GA GA-*li* GA-*ngu* *ngana*-GA-*jasika*, GE-*nu* 'GA-*la* GA-*jasiche*
KA-*wago a*-KA KA-*li* KA-*ngu* *ngana*-KA-*jasika*, KA-*nu* 'KA-*la* KA-*jasiche*
TU-*wago a*-TU TU-*li* TU-*angu* *ngunu*-TU-*jasika*, TU-*nu* 'TU-*la* TU-*jasiche*

so that with such a language as this it would not be difficult to produce alliterations even more striking than the disc actually presents.

To sum up, therefore, I submit as a series of probabilities :—

(1) That the disc being unique in Crete, is not indigenous thereto, but an importation from some foreign source.

(2) That that foreign source is fairly remote, not near at hand (as Asia Minor), for otherwise it might be expected that further documents of the kind would have come to light.

(3) That the costume, or want of costume, of the human figures on the disc points to a southern, tropical origin, rather than a northern (such as Finnish). That *possible* analogies may be traceable between the language of the disc and African languages, but I do not venture to insist on this.

(4) That the disc would not have been carried into Crete, and preserved in the Palace archives, unless it were of direct interest or importance. That a religious, literary, or musical document from some foreign country, Africa or anywhere else, would not have been of any special interest to the Lord of Phaestos.

(5) That the only kind of document thus interesting to the Cretan king would be a letter, treaty, contract, or other diplomatic communication.

(6) That the document, being printed from stamps, was most likely executed in some office where stamps of the kind were kept.

(7) That the only kind of document likely to be thus produced would be a letter, treaty, contract, or other diplomatic communication. That it is not probable that a religious, literary, or musical composition would be so produced.

I refrain from further speculation as to where in Africa there was a centre of civilisation advanced enough to print from movable types in or about the middle of the second miliennium B.C. We have had so many archaeological surprises during the last half-century that nothing would astonish us now. We may not illegitimately indulge in pleasant dreams of letters relating to a trade in gold between Crete on the one hand, and on the other Punt, Zimbabwe, Ophir, or even Sir Rider Haggard's city of Kōr! But we must wait in patience till some future excavator shall have the good fortune to find a clue to the mystery, before our dreams can take reality, or be dissipated in the cold light of day.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Nile and Jordan.—An Archaeological History of the Inter-relations between Egypt and Palestine. By Rev. G. A. Frank Knight, M.A., F.R.S.E. James Clarke. London, 1921. 36*s.* net.

This is in many respects a remarkable book. It takes up a definite subject, covers the whole history from the earliest times to the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and aims at entire completeness. The author has travelled in Egypt and Palestine; he has taken really astonishing pains to make his work comprehensive, and he has produced an almost exhaustive volume which roams over an endless array of subjects. Politics, military matters, religious ideas, morals, commerce, trade, law, society, agriculture, art—so one may go on; and we can well believe the "prospectus" which states that the author in preparing his work has made references to over 1700 different books and journals. *Nile and Jordan* thus claims to be "as complete a summary as is possible of all that is known up to date relative to the close inter-relations of these two famous lands." When we say that the book runs to 572 pages octavo, that it has five maps, and that, besides additional notes and an appendix on biblical chronology, it has elaborate indexes (bibliography, scripture references and general index, 50 pages in all), we have we trust given some fair idea of the massiveness and almost encyclopaedic character of the volume.

The book is well and interestingly written, and is as adapted to the conscientious reader as to the student who will welcome this handy collection of data. If the writer is at times rather wordy and prolix, piling up quotations and references, we must at least admit that nothing could equal his patience and industry, and his painstaking attempt to be complete at all costs. Moreover, he has taken up an independent attitude towards many of the problems that arise in Egyptian-Palestinian history, and the fact that he dates the Golden Age of Egypt (XIIth Dynasty) in the latter half of the fourth millennium B.C., not to mention other—more than difficult—views is a warning that a distinction must be drawn between his admirable collection of material and the use to which he puts it or the inferences he draws from it. And especially as

regards the history of Israel, Mr. Knight argues for views which are far from simplifying the problems of biblical history. It is here and elsewhere that we could wish he had been a little more explicit; for what avails it to dally with the old suggestion that Judaeans are mentioned in the Amarna Letters, when it is admitted that all the editors read not *Ia-u-da* but *Su-u-da*, so that the reading "Judah" is definitely excluded. But Mr. Knight merely says "the question must still be left open and undecided," which, it may be objected, gives the ordinary reader an entirely misleading impression of the situation.

Absence of criticism in such cases as these, where it is most needed, gives the volume an unevenness, although doubtless it can always be maintained that the wealth of information to be gained from it atones for blemishes of this sort. One must so cordially recognise the author's zeal and industry, and appreciate the general picture which the layman will gain from his description of history, that one must content oneself with emphasizing the fact that over some points of fundamental importance—as, *e.g.*, those already mentioned—a more informed and critical reader will constantly find himself pulled up short, and wish that to so much patience and energy there had been added a little more discrimination.

S. A. C.

The Oldest Laws in the World. Chilperic Edwards. Watts. 5*s.*—This little book now in its third edition deals with the famous code of Hammurabi, the discovery of which in 1902 attracted widespread attention, partly because of the relationship between its contents and the Pentateuchal legislation and the problems aroused thereby, and partly because of the light the code threw upon Babylonian conditions in and about 2100 B.C. A great deal has been ascertained since the first edition of this book seventeen years ago, and Mr. Edwards has rewritten his work and added a number of excurses and essays. If he has not availed himself of all the accessible studies so fully as he might, he has rather preferred to give a short readable statement and discussion which may serve to introduce readers to the more detailed or technical works. A specially important feature is the inclusion among various valuable appendixes of fragments of earlier Sumerian law codes which prove that Hammurabi's great code had predecessors, and these not Semitic but Sumerian. In point of fact the age of Hammurabi,

the Golden Age of Babylonia, came after a long period of relatively advanced and specialised culture, when elaborate laws would already be needed. The great Babylonian king was in no sense an inventor or originator, and the question of the indebtedness of his code to non-Semitic legislation now stands upon another footing from that when the present writer published his comparative study of Semitic legislation.[1]

Moreover, quite recently, portions of an old Assyrian law code have been discovered and published. This differs in some remarkable particulars from the Babylonian; it reveals different social conditions, and often a different spirit, being rougher and cruder—as one might well expect from what one knows otherwise of the temper of Assyria. Social relations are looser, and the class legislation so characteristic of Hammurabi's code is wanting.[2] The old problem of the indebtedness of the Mosaic legislation to Hammurabi becomes in consequence far more complicated. Mr. Edwards remarks that three main theories had previously been formulated: (1) the entire independence of both, (2) the independent origin of each from "a presumed body of primitive Semitic custom," and (3) the direct descent of the laws of Moses from those of Babylonia. Rightly rejecting the first, and rather summarily dismissing the second, he considers that any likeness between "the Hebrew and the Babylonian systems must be due to their dependence upon a common Sumerian original, and the only way in which the Hebrews could have derived anything from the Sumerians was through the great Code of Hammurabi."

On the other hand, we have to remember that there were sure to be social-legal customs outside the range of the Sumerian laws. We do not know enough of Semites and Sumerians to dogmatise and say that Hammurabi's code was founded solely upon that of the Sumerians. Neither the Assyrian nor the Mosaic laws are copies of Babylonian or Sumerian laws, and it is simply impossible to suppose that because the Sumerian laws are the oldest we have that Babylonians and Hebrews could have had no other source or influence, apart, of course, from those cases where actual borrowing or direct influence seems obvious or natural. The present writer

[1] *Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi* (A. & C. Black, 1903).

[2] Prof. Jastrow in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1921, Feb. The texts are published by O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Leipzig, 1920).

in 1903, for his part, perhaps pressed rather unduly some of his arguments against direct Babylonian influence, and has since favoured the more cautious statement of the late Dr. Johns, that the differences and resemblances between Moses and Hammurabi plead for an "independent recension of ancient custom deeply influenced by Babylonian law." It is of course conceivable that the code was known in early Palestine, but we have to explain the differences in spirit and content, just as we have now to do the same as regards Babylonia and Assyria. The question is not what may or must have been known, but what our extant sources contain, and the difference is an important one.

Such, then, is the advance of knowledge that even now Mr. Edwards has not succeeded in "embodying the results of the latest research," through, we hasten to add, no fault whatever of his own; and the latest research, as a matter of fact, forces an entire reconsideration of Moses and Hammurabi, and certainly does not substantiate the view that "the Laws of Moses were in *direct descent* [our italics] from those of Babylonia."

In his second Appendix Mr. Edwards deals with Abraham and Amraphel. His remarks upon "the unedifying story of Abraham's nephew" are strictly pointless, since they ignore the *motifs* of the traditions involved and their very great interest as indicating some old body of tradition entirely distinct from that of Abraham. The Lot-cycle, as it is called, once had nothing to do with Abraham, and his references to certain unsavoury aspects (p. 123) seem out of place in an appendix on the criticism of Gen. xiv. For Mr. Edwards is concerned to show that Gen. xiv is unhistorical and that Amraphel is not Hammurabi, and here we cannot help feeling that different arguments are needlessly confused. There is no reasonable doubt that Gen. xiv cannot be accepted as a piece of history, but to go further and sever Amraphel and Hammurabi is quite unnecessary. We have not *history* but *historical romance*, and there is no reason why the writer should not have regarded the names as identical. This, too, is an important difference. The identity of the names does not make the chapter the more historical; it only means that there may have been a knowledge of good names (though the form "Amraphel" still remains puzzling), and that the writer, or his source, may have thought that the two great heroes lived at the same age and came into contact. In like manner writers may have identified the traditions of Jacob or even

of the Exodus with the age of the Hyksos; but if we grant this, it does not follow that what they related has any value for our ideas of the history of the Hyksos. That is another matter. The important thing is to avoid a rationalism which goes strictly beyond the evidence, and beyond what is required by historical criticism.

We have mentioned this because it has seemed that Mr. Edwards' treatment of Gen. xiv went beyond reasonable criticism, and like his view of the indebtedness of Moses to Hammurabi and the Sumerians has taken up a position which one could hardly defend. The authors of the Mosaic legislation like the author of Gen. xiv *might* have been familiar with ancient laws and ancient historical records; there are indeed resemblances and points of contact, but the differences are more significant, and upon the latter our treatment of the questions must depend.

We have commented upon these relatively minor points in an excellent little book, which, none the less, for its fund of information will be welcome to all who are interested in ancient laws and customs and in the study of the relations between Hebrew and neighbouring conditions.

S. A. C.

Die Palästina-Literatur. III. By Peter Thomsen. Leipzig, 1916. —In this the third volume of his bibliography Dr. Peter Thomsen continues his exhaustive register of maps, books, articles, reviews, etc., relating directly or indirectly to Palestine. The first volume in 1908 comprised the literature of 1895—1904, the second, three years later, brought the index down to 1909, while the present volume ceases with the year of the War. This great work is one of international importance, it is a systematic classification of literature and arranged to facilitate easy reference. Thus we pass from a list of general works (pp. 1–35) to history (classified according to periods, pp. 36–113), archaeology (pp. 114–171), historical geography and topography (pp. 172–198), physical geography (pp. 199–234) and modern Palestine (pp. 235–332). The index of names and topics alone runs to over 40 pages of three columns each, and such is the scope of the work that it appeals to a diversity of interests, biblical, archaeological, Zionist, industrial, etc. Needless to say, the author has not been able to accomplish his task without co-operation and subvention, and he appeals, as before, for any assistance which publishers, writers and reviewers can give him in correcting

mistakes, amplifying his lists, and in adding to the completeness of the work. Such a work as this is so helpful for all who are interested in Palestine, and is so international in its scope and utility that we unreservedly support the appeal of the author, whose address is Dresden—A. 19, Kügelgenstrasse, 11.

S. A. C.

Palästinajahrbuch, 1920. By Prof. D. Gustaf Dalman. Berlin, 1921.—The sixteenth annual of the Jerusalem German Evangelical Institute for the Archaeological Study of the Holy Land opens with a paper by the editor on the society's interests in Palestine, followed by archaeological notes of the rock of Golgotha. He also writes on the model of the Church of the Sepulchre as evidence for its earlier form. The late Prof. Max van Berchem discusses some Arabic inscriptions from Jerusalem, and Pastor Wilhelm Möller describes a trip in the Jordan Valley in February, 1914. A short note by Prof. Dalman on the Jewish inscription from 'Arāḳ el-Emīr, 9 miles N.W. of Heshbon, is connected by him with Dan. xi, 14. The reading had long been disputed, but for some time past it has been known that Clermont-Ganneau and De Vogüé were right in reading "Tobiah" (טוביה), although the photographs and reproductions had clearly read some such otherwise unknown name as Arabiah (ערביה). All this will be found in Driver's admirable introduction to his commentary on the Hebrew Text of the books of Samuel in the course of his account of the origin and development of the Hebrew and Jewish scripts (2nd ed., p. xix *seq.*). Now, it was at 'Arāḳ el-Emīr" that Hyrcanus, the grandson of Tobias, and great-nephew of Onias II, the High-Priest, took refuge from his brothers and built his fort (183–176 B.C.); and the probability is that his native name was Tobiah itself, like that of his grandfather. Dalman comments upon the Aramaic form of the letters of the little inscription, and the gallery of lion-sculptures indicative of Oriental rather than of Greek influence; this Tobiah-Hyrkanus was no Maccabee but a Jewish nationalist with hopes of founding some ambitious state, and he suggests that it is he whom the writer of Dan. xi, 14 has in view when he speaks of the fall of the violent ones who exalt themselves and establish the vision. "This is what both the Lion-sculptures and the Tobiah-inscription tell us in 'Arāḳ el-Emīr."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The accompanying statement forwarded to us by Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner for Palestine, will be read with interest in connection with the statement of the Rev. W. M. Christie given on page 21 of the January *Quarterly Statement*. At Sir Herbert Samuel's request Lieutenant Beverley, A.D.C. to General Palim, wrote this account of his experience and had it countersigned by the men of his regiment who were with him. Two points make it clear that the creature seen on this occasion was no crocodile. Firstly it had a "fang," and secondly it, unlike Mr. Christie's animal, did not run to a pool or river, but disappeared down an opening in the ground.

The statement runs as follows:—

"It was during the practice camp of the 16th Brigade, R.F.A., I was on duty to clear the range of Arabs, etc., with a party of 40 men, who were posted at intervals round the range to keep people off. I had posted my men and was going my round visiting them. When about 8 miles south of Jaffa on the south-west side of Wady Rubin, at about 8.30 a.m. I noticed about 50 yards from where I was riding what appeared to me as a very large lizard lying basking in the sun. I rode up to within about five yards of the animal, which at once roused itself, stood its ground and kept on ejecting a fang from its mouth. Not knowing whether this was poisonous, I did not approach any nearer for fear that the horse might be stung, but instead threw a lance at the animal, the effect being that it turned and ran at a fast pace, with me following at a canter. It ran for a distance of about 200 yards to a large rock and disappeared down an opening between the lip of the rock and the ground.

I might mention that some Arabs saw this from a distance and came over to the place where the animal disappeared, and we tried to eject it, but without result. The Arabs seemed very excited, and it appeared by their actions, etc., that they had never seen the beast before. It was about 6 to 8 feet in length, about 18 inches across the back, the same colour and covering as a lizard, four legs and a pointed head and tail; and as I have previously mentioned, a fang."

The creature on this occasion was evidently the not uncommon Monitor (Monitor niloticus) or "Great Lizard" which inhabits inland sandy or desert parts of Palestine, Sinai, Egypt and Mesopotamia. It is not recorded as growing over five feet long, and, possibly, had the specimen been caught and measured its length would have been found to be considerably less than it appeared to be in the excitement of the chase.

The following extract from Dr. Peters' "*Nippur*" (vol. 11, pp. 329-330) records a similar experience in Irak :—

> "Three hours from Nejef we passed a large new khan in process of erection, as a charitable entertainment of pilgrims. It was a bequest from a Persian, named Merza, lately deceased in Nejef. A little later we ran down a monitor lizard, or arwal, about three or four feet long. In running, the creature straightened out its legs and galloped, standing as high from the ground as the goats of the country. When overtaken it turned about and showed fight. I do not wonder that old travellers mistook the creatures for alligators, and told marvellous stories of deadly encounters with them, in which the poor lizards were naturally always defeated."

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ ף	p
ה	h	פ ף	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	שׁ	sh
י	y	שׂ	s
כ	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

A further preliminary account of the excavation at Askalon is given in the present issue, pp. 162–172, fuller details being reserved until the Fund is in a position to give a more complete account of the work.

The Executive Committee desires to make it known that, in accepting a paid advertisement of Mr. Sulley's book on "The Temple of Ezekiel's Prophecy" for insertion in the last issue of the *Quarterly Statement*, they do not consider themselves to have assumed any responsibility for the book itself or to have implied any endorsement of its contents. The leaflet inserted in the same issue had not previously been brought to the cognisance of the Committee, and the offer, therein stated, of copies at reduced price to members of the Palestine Exploration Fund was made on the sole motion of the advertiser.

The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, founded in 1900, has been incorporated in the District of Columbia under the title of the American Schools of Oriental Research. The charter proposes that the institution may extend its archæological work to other lands than Palestine, especially to Mesopotamia, where it is hoped that a School may soon be established in addition to that in Jerusalem. The trustees of the new corporation are: Prof. James A. Montgomery (University of Pennsylvania), President; Prof. James C. Egbert (Columbia University and President of the Archaeological Institute), Vice-President; Prof. George A. Barton

(Bryn Mawr College), Secretary and Treasurer; Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff (Commercial Museum, Philadelphia), Associate Secretary; Prof. Cyrus Adler (Dropsie College), Prof. Benj. W. Bacon (Yale), Prof. Howard Crosby Butler (Princeton), Prof. Albert T. Clay (Yale), Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson (Columbia), Prof. Morris Jastrow (University of Pennsylvania, deceased June 22nd), Prof. Warren J. Moulton (Bangor Theological Seminary), Mr. Edward T. Newell (American Numismatic Society), Rev. D. J. B. Nies (President of the American Oriental Society), Prof. James H. Ropes (Harvard), Prof. Charles C. Torrey (Yale). Dr. W. F. Albright, of Johns Hopkins University, is the Director of the School in Jerusalem, and Prof. Wm. J. Hinke, of Auburn Theological Seminary, will go out this summer as Annual Professor. Plans for excavation in Palestine and Mesopotamia are in progress.

In the Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, No. 3, April, the Acting Director, Dr. Albright, states: "I am on the track now of extremely interesting and important folkloristic and sociological work. The Gipsies of Palestine are much more closely akin to their Hindu brethren than the European Gipsies, and their folklore is intensely interesting, while their name and language (Tutt) is identical with the Tutt of Persia, mentioned by Tabari, and the Tat of modern India, which does not appear to have been noticed hitherto." A School of Mesopotamian Archaeology is also in prospect, a library and students' workshop is to be established, probably at Bagdad, and an Assyriologist will serve in Jerusalem as Director of the School, and every winter conduct suitable students to Mesopotamia.

From an article in *The Palestine Weekly* (reprinted in *Palestine*) we take the following statements concerning the new Antiquities Ordinance:—"Archaeology has become a science and cannot safely be entrusted in the hands of the amateur however keen and however well-intentioned he may be. The root difference of past and present in this matter lies in this. In the past, archaeological research was carried on for the sake of objects—inscriptions, ornaments and what not—turned up by the spade. The value and success of an excavation was measured by the intrinsic or sentimental value of the matter discovered; the objects were an end in

themselves; always the ultimate purpose was the enrichment of a private or public collection of antiquities . . . ."

"The essence of archaeology now, is not the object found, but the precise spot, and the precise level, the precise condition, and the precise surroundings in which it is found. The object, however interesting and rare in itself, is either entirely worthless or next to worthless, if its provenance is unknown or doubtful. You can buy Canaanitish, Hebrew, Jewish and Hellenic earthenware at a few piastres the rotl. And in its plucked condition it is not worth more. But the discovery of such articles *in situ* is of incalculable value in the eyes of the expert, may add chapters to our knowledge of ancient history, and, to the present-day excavator, outweighs months of discomfort and bouts of malaria, and justifies the outlay of hundreds of pounds of his scanty and hardly-gotten funds."

"Unlicensed sale of antiquities means unsupervised digging for them, and encourages the amateur, the dealer and the innocent fellah to tamper with historic tells and do untold mischief, all with the object of finding a coin or a piece of sculpture which, with its provenance and circumstances unknown is of interest to none but the most unsophisticated of collectors. Whether it is possible to check this altogether may be doubtful, but the Department of Antiquities is making an heroic effort to familiarise the mukhtars and sheikhs of the country with the terms of the Act and the real value of historic sites, and wherein lies the importance of an antique . . . ."

"Every permit to excavate carries with it the following conditions:—

(1) "The excavator shall furnish to the Department as soon as possible after discovery, a detailed list of all antiquities found.

(2) "That all objects discovered in the course of the excavation are open to the inspection of the Department.

(3) "That the excavations shall at all times be open to the inspection of the officers of the Department.

(4) "That any person or persons specially authorised by the Director of Antiquities may at such hours as may be arranged enter upon and view the excavations.

(5) "That the excavator shall within four months of the conclusion of the season's digging supply in a form suitable

for publication either by the Department or in one of the recognised archaeological periodicals a summary report of the main results of his work.

(6) "That the society, institution or individual to whom the permit is granted shall produce within a period of two years an adequate scientific publication of the results of excavation.

"The Director of Antiquities shall after the close of the excavations choose such objects from among those found as are in his opinion needed for the scientific completeness of the Palestine Museum. He shall then make a fair division of all the other objects between the Museum and the person to whom the permit to excavate was granted, aiming as far as possible at giving such person a representative share of the whole result of the excavation.

"Until the division is made all antiquities found shall be deemed the property of the Government."

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin) 29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and to non-subscribers 3*s.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 159–160.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Members who have not yet paid their subscriptions for the current year will oblige by remitting at once, and thus save the cost of postal reminders.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special donation towards the Askalon excavations:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Sir Stuart Samuel, Bt.	10	0	0

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1920 was published in the Annual Report, issued with the April number.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:—

From H. B. S. Woodhouse, Esq.:—

Vetera Romanorum Itineraria, sive Antonini Augusti Itinerarium Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum, et Hieroclis Grammatici Synecdemus Curante Petro Wesselingio. Amsterdam, 1735.

The Life and Growth of Israel: a brief Old Testament History, by Prof. Samuel A. B. Mercer, Ph.D., D.D. Milwaukee, Wis.

The Near East, July 14 : Concerning Kurdish Etiquette ; articles on Palestine, Zionism, etc.

Expository Times, August : The Temple-Mount at Jerusalem, by Prof. Sayce, D.Litt.

Bible Lands, July : Jerusalem in 1867, by F. Stooke-Vaughan ; Cairo, by Rev. O. H. Parry ; Dietary and Allied Laws of the Jews, by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman.

The Irish Theological Quarterly.

Palestine.

The Zionist Review.

American Journal of Archaeology, 1921, April–June : Two Vases from Sardis, by G. H. Chase.

American Journal of Philology, XLII, 2 : Abraham's Bosom, by Prof. Paul Hampt.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, June : The Hittite Language, by Prof. M. Bloomfield ; Non-Indo-European Elements in Hittite, by Prof. J. D. Prince.

Jewish Quarterly Review, July : The Book of Esther—the light of history, by Dr. J. Hoschander.

Homiletic Review, July : A Remarkable Find in an Egyptian Tomb, by G. W. Gilmore.

Art and Archaeology, May : The Arts of Zechoslovakia, by A. Hrdlička.

Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly, July. Echoes from Palestine by A. L. Dushaw.

Journal Asiatique, Avril-Juin.

Revue Biblique, April : Palestine in the Ptolemaic Papyri of Cerza, by R. P. L. H. Vincent ; Epigraphical Notes, by F.-M. Abel, C.P. ; Detailed Review of Works on Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, &c., by L. H. Vincent.

Die Welt des Islams : Zeitschrift der Deutschen Gesselschaft für Islamkunde : Berlin.

Eine punisch-altberberische Bilingual aus einem Tempel des Massinissa ; die Lydisch-Aramäische Inschrift von Sardes ; ein Aramäischer Brief aus der Zeit Ashurbanipal ; die Herkunft der Manichäischen Schrift, and other reprints, by Prof. Dr. Mark Lidzbarski.

Al-Mashrik, July : La Question du Pétrole, by P. Raphael Nakhlé, S.J. ; La Récente Exposition de Beyrouth, by P. L. Cheikho, S.J.

Al-Mashrik, September.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

ASKALON REPORTS.

The Philistine Problem.

By Prof. John Garstang, M.A., D.Sc., B.Litt.

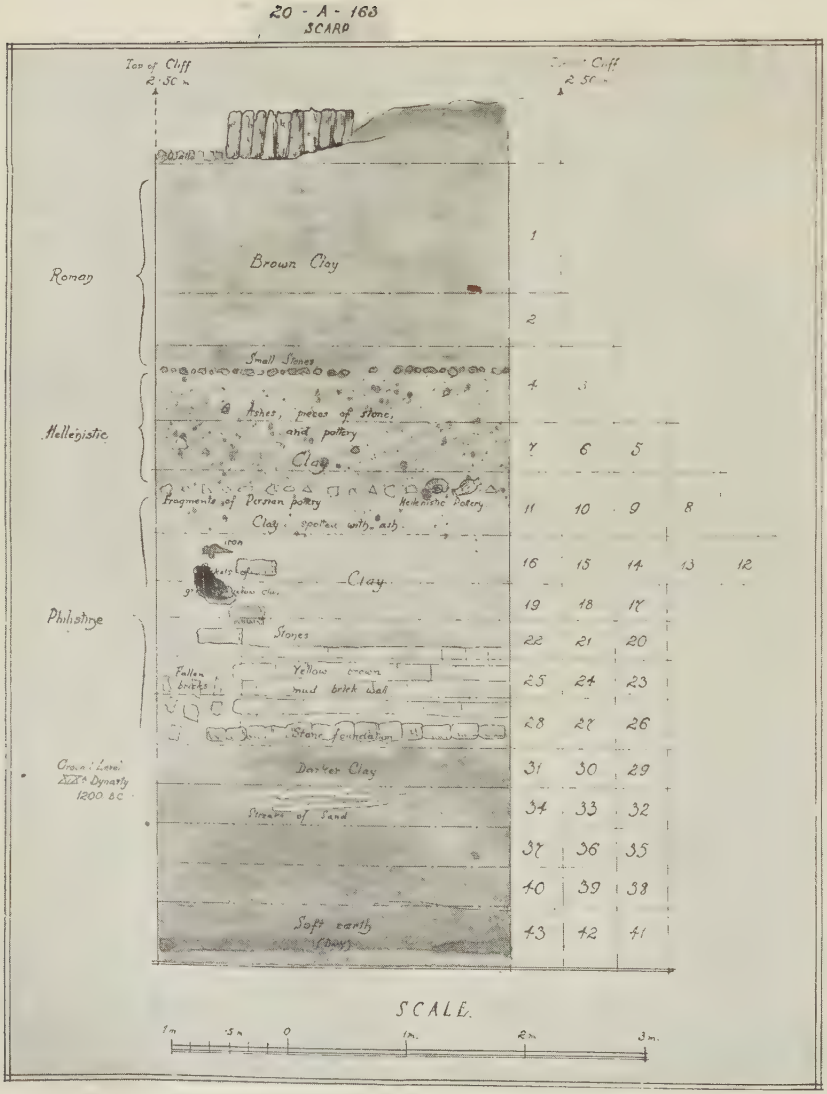
The prospect of recovering some direct evidence bearing upon the question of the identity of the Philistines is one of our chief expectations in undertaking the important excavations now proceeding at Askalon. Such evidence as came to light during the preliminary months of work in 1920 is described scientifically, in the second portion of this note, by Mr. Phythian-Adams, and will be appreciated by all as an example of careful work and studious method. It would have been appropriate to preface these preliminary accounts of the results obtained by a brief examination of the nature of the problem and the character of the evidence which has hitherto held the field; the daily occupation of the field-work, however, makes this impossible for the present, but I feel that these notes should no longer be delayed. Later on I shall hope to compare and co-ordinate the results of my consultations in England, during this Spring, with Members of the Committee—Dr. Hogarth, Dr. Macalister, Dr. Mackenzie, Prof. J. L. Myres, and others.

Our knowledge of the Philistines is derived in part from the Egyptian accounts of conflict with them in the time of Rameses III, shortly after 1200 B.C. This is the only contemporary source of evidence, and is especially important as referring apparently to the coming of the Philistines, and their settlement on the Plain. The next and most familiar source is the Old Testament, wherein the references to the Philistines, though not contemporary in the texts as we know them, were probably derived directly from contemporary archives. Further, the allusions are homogeneous and disclose a coherent account of the distribution and organization of the Philistine cities, with occasional glimpses of their social life, their household objects as well as their methods in war.

There is a third source of information—the traditional history which is embedded in the pages of ancient authors. Such history is often naïve and legendary, but though it cannot be treated as on the same footing as contemporary evidence, it is based on sources worthy of scientific consideration—tenacious folklore and the immemorial epics of court minstrelsy.

[*To face page* 163.

Palestine Exploration Fund.



Finally, a fourth source is that to which we now appeal, namely, direct archaeological evidence. In the account which Mr. Phythian-Adams gives of sections cut through the town site of Askalon we shall realize the process and the method involved in this aspect of enquiry.

It only remains to add by way of preliminary explanation, that we have been able to determine the layer just preceding the Philistine occupation, about 1250 B.C., and to recognize the more apparent traces of the Hellenistic period that followed. The former is at a depth of 7·50 metres and the latter at 5·50 metres below the modern surface of the soil (see diagram). The two metres depth of earth lying between these two levels therefore represent the accumulation of the Philistine occupation of the site (steps 28 to 16 inclusive). This section is not altogether homogeneous ; there are traces of a house built of mud bricks upon foundations of stone, there is a considerable accumulation of debris composed of decaying and fallen bricks and other deposits, but the whole belongs to the Philistine period. The method of utilizing this evidence then is to compare what was found in the excavation of this stratum, notably the broken potsherds, with what is found in the earlier and later stratifications below and above, to see whether the Philistine occupation brought with it and left such peculiar characteristics as would be the case with an intrusion of a new civilization. These results will be compared with parallel results from other Palestinian sites. This material will then be available for comparison with the results of discovery elsewhere, and provide a contribution of direct evidence towards the solution of the problem.

3rd June, 1921.

Stratigraphical Sections.

By W. J. Phythian-Adams, M.A., D.S.O., M.C.

1. Six sections were cut in the face of the "Acropolis" Mound for the purpose of determining the stratigraphical horizons of the Ancient City. Of these, four were on the cliff face near the point where Dr. Mackenzie had previously made his observations (*Q.S.*,

Jan., 1913, p. 20 *seq.*), and the remaining two on the Northern Scarp (Field 163).

The sections were cut by steps normally 1 metre long by 50 cm. broad and 50 cm. deep, and the objects found in each step were labelled and placed in separate compartments. At the conclusion of the work the interior cliff face was sketched and the strata fixed before reference was made to the pottery fragments. The agreement between these two may therefore be regarded as fundamental and not as due to any preconceived hypothesis.

The task of working over the fragments was entrusted to me by Professor Garstang. It has been carried out during the winter months, and is now sufficiently advanced to call for a detailed statement.

2. Of the six sections referred to above, only one (and that on the Northern Scarp) has been found to yield a satisfactory result. The cliff face on the sea coast, though carefully denuded of fallen debris before the section proper was begun, showed at all points a hopeless confusion of periods. In one step of section δ Roman and Arab wares lay side by side with a typical sub-Mycenaean fragment and a piece of the familiar "wish-bone" handle bowl. The lower strata of section γ (*i.e.*, those which lay half-way down the cliff) have given us an interesting equation with the Scarp section; but beyond these we have not invoked the dubious help of the sea-coast, where the deep and massive walls of the Crusaders have wrecked the delicate relations of the various layers.

3. We turn then to the evidence of the Northern Scarp, where our first section, for various reasons, was alone of value. The sketch shows the stratigraphy of this part of the Tell and steps to which each layer belongs. The Scarp at this point tumbles sheer for 7·50 metres to the lowest terrace, which in its turn falls over two metres to the bottom of the Wadi Berdawil. The ground level of the top of this terrace is equivalent to the centre of steps 29–31, and it will thus be seen that we had to descend in our sections 2 metres below the surface of the lower terrace before we could strike the virgin sand at the bottom. The terracing which had produced the Scarp had also removed the outer crust of later debris and exposed a fresh undisturbed and reliable section for our investigation.

Beneath steps 13 and 12 an East to West wall of late date came to light, and confined us to a space of less than 1·50 m. between

itself and the perpendicular face of the Scarp. Owing to this intrusion, the evidence of steps 17, 20 and 23 must be regarded as dubious, though it happens, fortunately, that this is of little moment. Below this point the strata were found wholly undisturbed.

4. The history of Askalon (begins at this spot) on a bed of clean sand, overlaid with soft dark loamy soil which is clearly distinguished from the hard clay stratum above it. Pottery fragments were found in these lowest steps (41–43), and already betray the influence of Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. The culture types remain unchanged until we reach steps 29–31 immediately underlying the stone foundation of the later mud-brick wall. The most conspicuous fragments in this stratum were :—

Step 43—

(I) Fragment (almost flat in section) from the bottom of a large slightly curved dish. The clay is of fine texture and buff colour with a red slip. The decoration consists of a rolling brown-red band on a ribbon of matt white applied to the slip. Both fabric and decoration appear at present to be unique in Palestine and contrast strikingly with their immediate neighbours at this level.

Step 41—

(II) Fragments of the familiar Cypriote "wish-bone" handle bowl with the usual ladder decoration (bistre on whitish gray). Most of the fragments are of coarse buff clay, and betray the efforts of the local imitator. (Wish-bone handle, Step 37).

(III) Two fragments of "Aegean" painted ware, almost identical in type with those found by Dr. Mackenzie at Beth-Shemesh outside the East Grotto (*Annual*, 1911, fig. 14, page 65). They show the "dark reddish-brown decoration on the familiar glazed buff slip" (cf. *Gezer*, II, p. 155).

(IV) Fragments of "base-ring ware" belonging both to the "bilbil" type of vase (handle of a large jug with central raised rib, Step 33), and to the black and red cyma bowl, figured in *Tell el-Hesi*, Pl. VIII, p. 149. Of this Petrie says: "The outline is more like a metal bowl

than one of pottery" (*ibid.*, p. 45), and indeed the clay itself rings with a hard metallic chink. A fine fragment which shows the complete profile of the bowl was found in Step 22 of the section γ (see above. This was the lowest step of the section, and therefore about halfway down the Tell). Pieces of wish-bone handle bowl occurred with it, and would seem to show that we have here an equation of some importance.

It is, however, very strange to find this early period represented on the coast so high up the cliff face, and subsequent excavations may prove this evidence invalid. Certainly the wish-bone handle and bowl fragments occur at all levels in section γ, and were even found on the summit of the hill with Arab glazed ware, glass and Byzantine lamps.

(V) Local wares are represented by the top of a one-handled juglet with spout evenly closed and not pinched (Step 42), and by fragments of a shallow dish of coarse porridge clay, specimens of which occurred in Steps 37 and 38, and in γ 20. This ware, which is distinguished by a somewhat unusual "turn-over" rim, ending on the outside face either in a sharp right-angle return or a smoother moulding, has been found at Ain Shems, apparently in its first and second periods. In the Scarp Section it does not appear again. Its gritty texture and metallic shape make it easily recognisable.

(VI) More curious in this environment is a fragment of bowl-rim of buff clay, painted both inside and out with a symmetrical design of red squares on a black ground. The squares themselves are spotted more or less regularly with small rectangles of black.

Two fragments of this type are now in the Palestine Museum, and seem to have been found at Tell es-Safi. In this case thin black, slightly wavy lines have been drawn in groups of twenty, either vertically or horizontally over the surface of the dull red slip. The effect is less orderly and much less pleasing than in the present examples, but there can be no doubt that the technique itself is identical.

(b) Steps 29–31 show a transitional stage. The painted ladder ware disappears and red or vermilion loops on red clay take their place. Step 29 contained a fragment of an alabaster vase of XIXth Dynasty type, and the top of a double-handled "pilgrim bottle." It is possible that these may belong to the period of the mud-brick wall above.

(c) With the stratum which now begins (Steps 28–26), and which fades away gradually into a Hellenistic environment (Steps 8–11), we pass apparently into a new culture.

The technique of the painted wares is now predominantly that of the second period of Ain Shems, the 3rd Semitic of Gezer. The white or greenish white slip of this period had already appeared in Step 31, and fragments showing the familiar black false spiral with red centre are now in evidence (Step 23). The vases represented were of the larger crater order.

The octopus *motif* occurs on a small pyx-like vessel from Step 26, and seems repeated in a more elaborate form on several fragments from the same step, which bear a design in dark brown on greenish white. Here, too, another "pilgrim-bottle" was found, this time intact. It shows faint traces of an original white slip and of some design (not of concentric circles) in a dark dull red.

Thinner cups or bowls of red clay with dark red lines inside and outside the rim or on the sides, and a few fragments of buff ware with dark brown bands, also belong to this stratum. In Step 28 a piece of imitation "wish-bone" bowl survives from the earlier period, but the ladder pattern has given place to a few spiral lines.

(d) The strata up to and immediately below the pottery level of Steps 8–11 contained nothing characteristic, although the presence of a rude lump of iron and a pocket of greenish clay are to be noted for future guidance.

(e) In the well-marked stratum above this we have, however, a surer piece of evidence. It was noticed that this stratum alone seemed to continue at the same level along the whole face of the scarp, and very clearly represents the debris of a large but not lofty rubbish heap. At the west end of this layer in our section we found *in situ* broken fragments of the familiar cylindrical U-shaped vase with

rounded base and flat shoulders. Macalister holds this to be a type appearing in the Persian (IVth Semitic) Period, and becoming very common in the Hellenistic (*Gezer*, II, p. 198). In Beth-Shemesh it is a sign of the period of re-occupation.

(f) Above this point the ground has been so often and so rudely disturbed that any attempt to differentiate strata proved futile. A pit sunk in the field above showed equally that we cannot hope to determine the later periods of occupation by this method. They demand a more extended excavation.

5. To sum up:—

(I) Two periods in this section seemed to be indicated with considerable certainty.

(a) The period from the bottom to the level below the mud-brick wall in Steps 26–28.

Here the presence together of the Mycenaean iron glaze ware, of the base ring jugs and cyma bowls, of the wish-bone handle bowls, and, finally, at the top of the XIXth Dynasty alabaster fragment shows that we are dealing with an epoch ranging roughly from 1400 B.C. to 1100 B.C. This dating in Palestine seems confirmed by the evidence of Tell el-Hesi, Gezer and Ain Shems. In the first it is represented by cities (sub IV and V) period; in the second by the latter part of the "Second Semitic" period, and in the third by the first period of the city's history.

Two points may here be noted:—The Scarp Section has revealed none of the earlier pre-Israelite or pre-Semitic stages, which are distinguished by the ledge handle, the flat base and the polished Venetian red vase. It is very probable that the sand stratum at the bottom of the Steps 41–43 may be no more than a deep but local drift, and that beneath this again new and earlier epochs will reveal themselves. On the coast, pottery was certainly discovered down to the sandstone rock some twelve feet below sea-level, but reasons have been advanced already for discounting the force of this evidence.

The general resemblance of this earliest stratum in the Scarp to the first period of Ain Shems has already been

mentioned. The collection of fragments found at the entrance of the East Grotto is particularly remarkable in its similarity to our Askalon types. It contained all the wares specified above (except the alabaster), and in addition fragments of the "turn-over" type described in (IV), (V).

(b) In the pottery stratum of Steps 8–11 we recognize the arrival of Hellenistic influence. This corresponds aptly with the re-occupation period of Ain Shems, and though it does not give us an exact date, permits us to fix with reasonable certainly the duration of the culture immediately underlying it.

(II) That culture appears to have been homogeneous and unbroken. No violent cataclysm is suggested by the presence of ashes or of bricks reddened by fire. If the evidence of this section can be provisionally accepted, a new period opened for Askalon near, or soon after, the close of the XIXth Dynasty, and continued undisturbed until new and much later influences came to the city from the West.

This period at its outset exactly corresponds with the second period of Ain Shems: it arrived at the same moment, and brought with it the same ceramic types; but while in the city of the Shephelah it was rudely broken by hostile invasion and the intrusion of a strange race, at Askalon it escaped these dangers and passed without interruption into the succeeding stage.

To this period and its culture we may, with Dr. Mackenzie, assign the name of "Philistine"; history itself supports the evidence of strata and pottery; and if we must expect in the course of the next season to see this hypothesis modified in its essential details, we can at least go forward with greater confidence and a surer knowledge of the problems which lie before us.

PRE-PHILISTINE INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By W. J. Phythian-Adams, M.A., D.S.O., M.C.

The apparent absence at Askalon of any ceramic remains which can be referred to an earlier date than 1800 B.C., has been alluded to in the above report (on last season's work at the Northern Scarp), and only confirmed by more extensive excavations which have now been completed on the sea-coast (Field 19). To take a single example, no signs of ledge-handle vases came to light even in the deepest pits, and the homogeneity of the long period of culture which preceded the entrance of the Philistines has been very strikingly evidenced by the season's work of discoveries.

Who were these earliest inhabitants of the site? This is a question which now calls for answer, and it seems to reopen the wider and even more interesting problem which is put before us in the Pentateuch.

In Genesis x, 19 the (western) border of the Canaanites is given as running from "Sidon as thou goest to Gerar unto Gaza." No mention is made in the Bible of there having been any previous race which the Canaanites found in possession of the Philistine plain, and which they either expelled or absorbed. On the other hand, in Deut. ii, 23 we read of "Avvim which dwelt in villages as far as Gaza," that the Caphtorim which came forth out of Caphtor destroyed them and dwelt in their stead." The passage gives us no means of deciding whether these "villages" (khaṣērīm) were North or South of Gaza, but a reference to Joshua xv, 21 *sqq.* shows in the extreme south of Judah a repeated preference for the name Hazor. This territory passed to Simeon (*cf.* lists in 1 Chron. iv, 24 *sqq.*) and was centred round about Beersheba.

The fact that the "Caphtorim" are referred to in Genesis x as "sons of Mizraim" suggests further that this intrusion into Southern Palestine took place from the Delta and was itself a displacement of elements (foreign or native) which had been for some time resident in the Nile Valley. In this connection one cannot refrain from noticing that one of the cities in the area alluded to above is Sharuhen (Tell el-Sheria), the last refuge of the Hyksos. We have thus, both in the Biblical and the Egyptian accounts a tradition that prior to the Israelite invasion (whatever

date we choose to assign to it) the southern end of the Philistine plain had been entered by invaders (or fugitives) who, while not necessarily native Egyptians, had nevertheless been closely associated with the Egyptian Kingdom.

The excavations at Askalon have led us to a stage in our enquiry in which extraneous evidence becomes imperative. If there is any truth in the tradition that Gaza formed in early days a frontier between two civilizations—the Canaanite and the Avvim, and later the Canaanites and the "Caphtorim"—we must find traces of this difference of culture in the numerous tells which lie to the North of Rafa and along the Wady Saba. We must discover not only the prehistoric remains of the "Avvim" but the later relics of their mysterious successors and, finally, we must learn once for all what relation each of them bore to the Canaanites in general, to the earliest inhabitants of Askalon (if they were not Canaanites) and to the Philistines who super-imposed their own civilization upon them.

That in later days the Caphtorim and the Philistines came to be identified is manifestly probable if the former reached further north than Gaza: that they were originally identical, is supported by no certain Biblical evidence, for the "Casluhim" references cannot scientifically be ignored and may surely be allowed to stand until tested by further excavations.

These excavations need not exceed in scope the methodical examination by half-metre steps of a suitable portion of several of the more prominent mounds to the south of Gaza. These should at any rate suffice to tell us the cultural history of that region and to decide in what relation it stood throughout the centuries to the coastal plain and to the great sites of Askalon and Gaza.

[*Pre-Philistines.*—The above note by Mr. Phythian-Adams well illustrates the now commonly-recognized fact that in any endeavour to solve such knotty problems as the one he is examining the archæological data and the historical are mutually supplementary. It is now some years since the present writer wrote the article "Philistines" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xith ed., and much water has flown under the bridges since. In particular one may perhaps discern a greater readiness to recognize that the main-land of Asia Minor is as important a factor in the Philistine problem as Crete itself. But the point raised above recalls the difficulty that the

problem is not a little complicated by the haziness of the early writers themselves. Samuel's great defeat of the *Philistines* led to peace with the *Amorites* (1 Sam. vii, 14); and if Caphtorim replace the earlier Avvim (*cf.* Josh. xiii, 3), Anakim once survived in Gaza, Gath and Ashdod, and also in Hebron (Josh. xi, 21 *seq.*; xv, 14). Moreover, if we adopted the Septuagint reading of an awkward expression in Jer. xlvii, 5, the Philistines themselves were the remnant of the Anakim (reading ענקם for עמקם). One is tempted to find this name in the "land of . . annaki" mentioned in the Amarna Letters as hostile to the King of Gezer (Knudtzon's edition, No. 298). In this case later etymologising discovered "sons of Anak," *i.e.*, giants, just as the *Khōrīm* or Horites, from *Kharu* the old name of Palestine, has been taken to mean "troglodytes." Quite apart from this little speculation, however, the Amarna Letters themselves point to busy scenes in the Levant, and from what we know of "Sardinian" (*Sherden* ? from Sardis) and other mercenaries—*cf.* the later Carians or Carites—it is not at all improbable that there were foreign settlements on the coast before the first references to the Philistines themselves in external sources. Here we anxiously await the spade of the excavator.

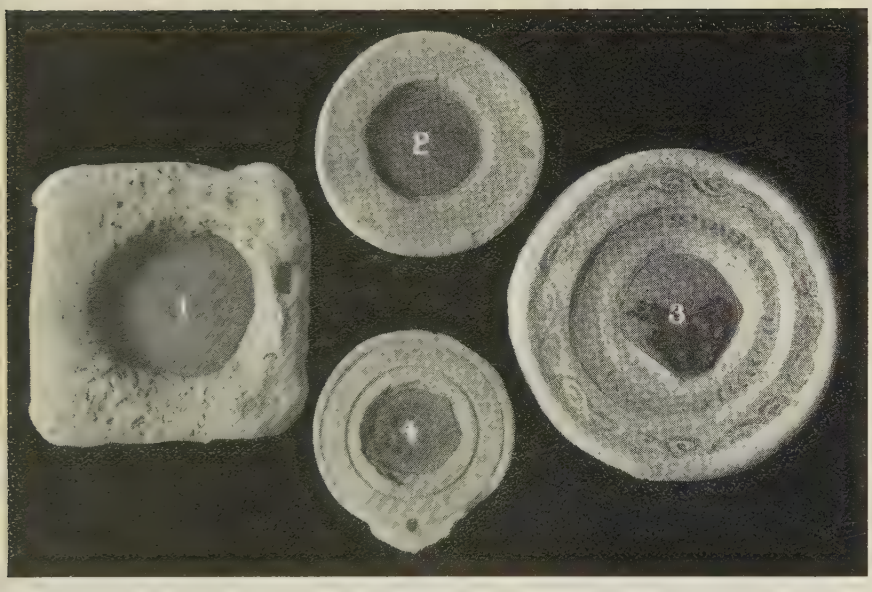
S. A. Cook.]

SOME ALLEGED PALESTINIAN PYXES.

By the Rev. Père Ronzevalle, S.J.

A few weeks ago, as I was glancing through pp. 70–86 of the *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem*, Vol. I, I was not a little astonished to see that Mr. W. J. Moulton attributed to a series of objects, apparently found in Palestinian tombs, the sacred character of Funerary Pyxes, which are, without exception, undoubtedly ordinary mirrors. I had already, before the war, put together some notes on the subject, which circumstances have prevented me from publishing till now; and I offer these hasty lines, the sole purpose of which is to set right a singular misconception.

In 1913 I happened to be at Homs, where I saw several dozens of these objects in the shops in the Suq, and acquired some of them



Palestinian Mirrors. Nos. 1–4.

[*To face page* 173.

Palestinian Mirrors. No. 5.

for the Louvre. The essential characteristic of all of them was a piece of very thin blown glass (*ballon de verre*), roughly shaped into a circle and set in a flat mounting more or less ornamented, and either round or square, of plaster (Nos. 1–3) or of stone (No. 4). A few months later some more specimens of the same kind were for sale by the dealers of Beirut, and the *provenance* was again said to be the region of Ḥoms. Finally, I was able quite recently to take photographs of Nos. 5 and 6, which, with several others, come from the neighbourhood of Mo'arret en-No'man.[1]

These few illustrations, which I could easily multiply, will doubtless be sufficient to establish: (i) the close connection between these *bibelots* and those which Mr. Moulton has published; and (ii) their purely secular purpose and their character as mirrors pure and simple. No. 6 would convince the most incredulous.

In the dealers' shops of Ḥoms and Beirut, these artless, or rather childish, mirrors were associated with terra-cotta lamps of the late Roman or Byzantine period, and with various stone and alabaster articles of domestic use, such as little mortars, vases for cosmetics, etc., etc. They are generally of small dimensions; those in Plate I are reduced only by a half; No. 5 in its present state is 17 cm. in length; No. 6, 11·5 cm., including the handle. They are sometimes perfectly preserved; so much so that in some of them one can still see one's reflection, despite the iridescence which the lapse of centuries has caused in the glass. A lining of lead was applied to the interior surface of these convex circles (*rondelles bombées*), in order to increase their reflecting powers. In No. 5 the frame is kept upright by two plaster pats (*plattes*), by which it is attached to the body of the figurine; but there is no frame (*placage*) to the glass, which thus stands absolutely free.

That these figures were "Astartes" of a kind, goddesses of female beauty, is a fact of which there can be no doubt, as Mr. Moulton himself has clearly recognised (p. 85), and it is equally certain that the sacred figurine reproduced on p. 83 carried a little mirror, as in our No. 5. Another example, from Cyprus, is to be seen at the Louvre.[2] These portable tabernacles, enshrining domestic idols (usually female figures), were in common use in the Roman period, more especially in the *lararia* of Syro-Palestinian houses;

[1] [No. 6 is not reproduced.—Ed.]

[2] Cp. *Le Musée du Louvre depuis* 1914: *Dons, legs et acquisitions.* Paris, Demotte, 1920, fol., t. II, Pl. 74, note by M. Edm. Pottier.

I hope to publish some of them upon another occasion. In short, there is no reason for emphasising facts which ought, as it would seem, to have prevented the drawing of any comparison between these objects and Eucharistic Pyxes intended for the dead. In any case, this collection of little antique objects demonstrates categorically that whether we have before us a circular or a polygonal plaque, of stone or of plaster, whether the glass, with or without a lining, be set in the body of a cock, a dove or a peacock, or placed in the arms or upon the knees of a figurine—we are in every case dealing with mirrors—as the merchants of Jerusalem quite correctly stated (p. 71).

Moreover, I would say in conclusion, all this has long been known among archaeologists—Kisa, in Vol. II of his work *Das Glas im Altertume* (1908), pp. 357–61, had touched rapidly upon the subject. It was taken up again by M. Etienne Michon in his excellent study entitled *Miroirs antiques de verre doublé de plomb*, 1909,[1] and M. de Ridder has recalled this masterly work in the article which he has devoted to mirrors in the *Dictionnaire* of Saglio-Pottier.[2] According to M. Michon, these glass mirrors lined with lead are met with throughout the Roman Empire, from Egypt, through Asia Minor and South Russia, to Gaul. It may be that some of these played the part of amulets rather than of mirrors properly so-called, that others served as domestic ornaments, and that others again received a short inscription and became votive offerings, but a very large number were nothing but children's toys. This is equally my conclusion for the Syro-Palestinian group.

Beiruth, 2*nd May*, 1921.

[1] *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques*, etc. (*Ministère de l'Instruct. publ.*), 1909, pp. 231–250.

[2] *S.v.*, "Speculum," p. 1429, b.

NOTES ON RECENT DISCOVERIES.

By Gerald M. FitzGerald, M.A.

I.

The Theodotus Inscription.

The text of the Greek inscription which was found in the course of M. R. Weill's excavations on Mount Ophel, and which records the building of the synagogue of Theodotus, appeared in the *Quarterly Statement* (Jan. 1921, p. 22), and was the subject of an article by Rabbi A. Marmorstein.

The inscription, published in facsimile by the *Revue des Études Juives*,[1] has been discussed by M. Clermont-Ganneau[2] and M. Th. Reinach,[3] as well as by M. Weill.[4] Finally, Father Vincent contributes to the April number of the *Revue Biblique*[5] an article which is at once an interesting summary of the views that have been put forward, and a valuable critical commentary upon them. It is from this article that the substance of these notes is drawn.

The inscription consists of ten lines enclosed within a moulded border, and carved on a block of soft limestone measuring 75 cm. by 41 cm. by 20 cm., which was apparently intended to be built into a wall. It has suffered but little damage; towards the right end of the block the border and a few letters have been defaced, and two vertical grooves have been cut across the inscription, dividing the surface of the block into three irregular parts. MM. Clermont-Ganneau and Reinach believe that these grooves were made with a view to cutting up the block and using it again for building purposes, and M. Reinach draws the further conclusion that the inscription may have been brought from some other part of Palestine, such as Caesarea. Father Vincent disagrees with this view, and points out that the block is of the common limestone of Jerusalem, and that no good reason exists for doubting that the inscription was carved in Jerusalem for the building among the ruins of which it was found. He suggests that the damage may have been done

[1] *R.E.J.*, LXX (Jan.–June, 1920), Annexe, Pl. XXVa.

[2] *Syria*, I, 1920, p. 191.

[3] *R.E.J.*, LXXI, p. 46.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[5] "Découverte de la 'Synagogue des Affranchis' à Jérusalem." *R.B.*, April, 1921, p. 247. Rabbi A. Marmorstein's article could only be used by Father Vincent in correcting his proofs.

in the course of the fighting which raged on Mount Ophel when Jerusalem fell in A.D. 70.

It is interesting to note that the inscription was found by M. Weill with other architectural remains in a cistern, in which the ruins of a demolished building had been not confusedly thrown, but piled and stored in an orderly manner. Father Vincent suggests (p. 277) that, after the destruction of the synagogue in A.D. 70, the descendents of those who used to frequent it may have intended to rebuild it, or may have desired to preserve its remnants from profanation; elsewhere (p. 250, n. 3) he seems inclined to think that a purely utilitarian motive may explain the storing of the remains.

The slight damage done to the inscription does not raise any difficulties as to its tenor. It runs as follows:—

1. Θ[ε]όδοτος Οὐεττήνου, ἱερεὺς καὶ
2. ἀ[ρ]χισυνάγωγος, υἱὸς ἀρχισυν[αγώ]-
3. γ[ο]υ, υἱωνὸς αρχισυν[α]γώγου, ᾠκο-
4. δόμησε τὴν συναγωγ[ὴ]ν εἰς ἀν[άγν]ω
5. σ[ιν] νόμου καὶ εἰς [δ]ιδαχ[ὴ]ν ἐντολῶν, καὶ
6. τ[ὸ]ν ξενῶνα, κα[ὶ τὰ] δώματα καὶ τὰ χρη-
7. σ[τ]ήρια τῶν ὑδάτων, εἰς κατάλυμα τοῖ-
8. ς [χ]ρήζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ξε[ν]ης, ἣν ἐθεμε-
9. λ[ίω]σαν οἱ πατέρες [α]ὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πρε-
10. σ[β]ύτεροι καὶ Σιμων[ί]δης.

"Theodotus, son of Ouettenos, priest and archisynagogus, son of an archisynagogus, grandson of an archisynagogus, built this synagogue for the reading of the Law and for the teaching of the Commandments, and the hostel and the chambers and the water-fittings for the accommodation of those who (coming) from abroad have need of it, of which (synagogue) the foundations were laid by his fathers and by the Elders and by Simonides."

Among the points which are to be noticed in the text of the inscription are the following:—

L. 1. Θεόδοτος, a Jewish name, Greek in form, but corresponding to the Hebrew Jonathan, Nathaniel, and the like. Οὐεττήνου represents a Roman name, probably Vettienus.[1]

[1] So MM. Clermont-Ganneau and Reinach. Father Vincent does not accept Rabbi Marmorstein's suggestion that the Jewish name Bathyra or Atinos may be intended. Indeed, such an equation would be fatal to the theories of all the scholars above mentioned.

L. 2. The term ἀρχισυνάγωγος has been explained by Rabbi Marmorstein[1] as denoting the lay head of the synagogue, to whom it fell to provide food for strangers. The position was often hereditary. M. Reinach considers it singular that one man should unite the offices of priest and head of the synagogue.

Ll. 4–5. The omission of the article before ἀνάγνωσιν and διδαχήν is a reminiscence of the Hebrew construct state.

L. 6. This is not the only instance of a hostel in close connection with a synagogue. In some cases the hostel was perhaps on the ground floor, with the synagogue above.

L. 7. The water-fittings may be understood to include the baths, of which traces have been discovered in the course of the excavations, as well as cisterns and other accessories for providing the hostel with water.

L. 8. The relative ἥν referring only to συναγωγήν in line 4, and occurring after the enumeration of other buildings, is a Semitic turn of phrase.

L. 9. "His fathers," the father and grandfather of Theodotus, not the "fathers" of the synagogue.

L. 10. The Elders are the members of the Sanhedrin. Simonides, whose identity has not been ascertained, would seem to have been the chief of the Elders or some such important dignitary. In support of this probable view MM. Clermont-Ganneau and Reinach point to the large characters in which the name is engraved. The closer examination of the inscription leaves this in doubt. As may be seen from the reproduction,[2] and as Father Vincent points out, the first three lines of the inscription are more regularly and clearly written than lines 4–8, in which the letters grow smaller and more crowded. The result is that towards the end of the inscription more space is left than can be filled; line 9 is more widely spaced than the lines which precede it, and in line 10 the last six letters of Σιμωνίδης are expanded in order, apparently, to fill up the line.

In forming the opinion that the synagogue of Theodotus was built before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, M. Clermont-Ganneau has been decisively influenced by considerations of

[1] *Q.S.*, Jan. 1921, p. 24 *sqq.*

[2] *R.B.*, 1921, Pl. III.

epigraphy. To him it appears that a very striking resemblance exists between the characters of our inscription and those of the well-known stele from Herod's Temple.[1] Father Vincent is now in substantial agreement with M. Clermont-Ganneau as to the date of the inscription;[2] but a careful analysis of the two inscriptions has confirmed the impression made by their general appearance, and convinced him that considerable differences exist between them. Not only does the monumental regularity of the Temple stele contrast with the crowded lettering of our inscription, but a closer comparison shows that several letters (notably A, Γ, H, K, O, Π, Υ, Ω) are not consistently given the same form in the Theodotus inscription itself, and are as often as not distinguishable from the forms in the Temple stele. The form of E with the middle cross-stroke not touching the upright is admittedly peculiar to our inscription. The open form of the letters M and Σ is considered by M. Clermont-Ganneau to be evidence for a date earlier than that of the Temple stele,[3] but it is pointed out that this form is not used consistently, and that instances occur in which these letters have parallel arms.

The researches which Father Vincent has made have directed his attention to two inscriptions which closely resemble that of Theodotus; of these one dates from the beginning of the second century,[4] the other is a dedication to Trajan.[5] He is, however, led to the general conclusion that Greek epigraphy of the Imperial age (especially in countries that were not Greek) shows so much variety in the type of lettering, that it is impossible precisely to fix the

[1] *R.B.*, 1921, Pl. IV.

[2] By an unfortunate misunderstanding Father Vincent has been supposed to cling to the belief that the inscription dates from the time of Trajan (early second century). As a matter of fact, this possibility was only suggested by him within a few hours of the discovery of the inscription and abandoned very shortly afterwards. With the information then available it appeared at least possible that Theodotus might have been the rebuilder under Trajan of a synagogue founded by his grandfather, perhaps that of the Libertini or freedmen mentioned in Acts vi, 9. The Simonides of the inscription might then be identified with the son of Josephus, and Theodotus appear as a freedman of C. Vettenius, consul in 107–8 (*R.B.*, 1921, p. 256 *sqq.*).

[3] The stele would then have to be assumed to be later than the rebuilding of the Temple by Herod between 20 and 11 B.C.

[4] *R.B.*, 1921, Pl. V, 1, from the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi.

[5] *Ibid.*, Pl. V, 2, from Magnesia on the Maeander. (The inscription seems clearly to belong to Trajan, though Father Vincent attributes it to Nerva.)

date of our inscription within the forty or fifty years which the nature of the case permits.

If, then, the form of the inscription does not exclude the possibility of attributing it to a later date than 70 A.D., neither does the consideration (urged by M. Clermont-Ganneau) that a Jewish establishment of such importance would not have been permitted in Jerusalem after its destruction. Even supposing the Jews to have been rigorously excluded by law, the connivance of the authorities must have enabled many to return in the half-century before the Second Revolt.

Nevertheless, Father Vincent accepts the view of M. Weill, that the architectural fragments which the excavations disclose are of the first century, and is prepared to adopt the opinion of M. Clermont-Ganneau as to the origin of the synagogue.

According to this hypothesis, Theodotus was the descendant of one who had held the office of Head of a Synagogue, and who, in 64 B.C., had been brought to Rome as a prisoner after the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey. Supposing him to have been the slave of one Vettius, he would, on being given his freedom, have taken the name of Vettienus and transmitted it to his son or to his grandson. The latter possibility brings us down well into the first century without going beyond the impassable limit of date, the critical year 70.

Theodotus, then, being in possession of a sufficient fortune, either built or restored, at his own expense, a synagogue and a hostel for pilgrims coming from abroad on the actual site of a like institution founded or projected by his ancestors in concert with the authorities of their day. It may be that this earlier foundation was destroyed in the siege of 64 B.C.

M. Clermont-Ganneau points out (though naturally with great reserve) an attractive coincidence which seems to give substance to his theory. In Cicero's letters the names Vettius and Vettienus occur more than once. The latter was borne by a man of business, perhaps a money-lender, who in 49 B.C. acted as agent for Cicero in the purchase of a lodge, and who seems to have offended his patron by writing somewhat curtly for payment and by using the title of Pro-consul in addressing him. In return Cicero jestingly styles him *monetalis*, and applies the same title to him in a later letter.[1] Other casual references of a friendly nature occur in the

[1] *Ad Att.*, X, v, 2; X, xi, 5; XV, xiii, 5.

letters. The form of his name, and the possible nature of his profession, make it tempting to suppose that Cicero's Vettienus was one of Pompey's Jewish prisoners to whom a Vettius had given his freedom; but M. Clermont-Ganneau is careful not to lay too much stress upon this pleasant fancy.

In the light of M. Clermont-Ganneau's theory,[1] Father Vincent proceeds to a closely-reasoned examination of the text of the inscription, in order to determine what it has to tell us as to the foundation of the synagogue.

Examining first the circumstances which might have caused the suspension, for the period of two generations, of the work of building the synagogue founded by the fathers of Theodotus, we observe that his grandfather, though styled Archisynagogus, may yet have been a prisoner and a slave. We are therefore entitled to explain the name Vettienus (essentially Latin and of servile form) borne by his son—the father of Theodotus—as derived from the *gens* of the Roman who had freed him. As Theodotus was a priest, so in all probability the grandfather, before being taken prisoner, united the office of Archisynagogus with the duty of officiating in the Temple as one of the priestly line. Nothing prevents us from attributing to him the planning of a new synagogue, and perhaps the laying of its foundation stone, before 64 B.C., when the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey and his temporary enslavement would account for the interruption of the work.

It is known[2] that the Jewish prisoners in Rome were not long in acquiring a position of influence; the many who, by gift or by purchase, obtained their freedom, became in a few years a power in politics and finance, and for more than half a century the Jewish community continued to increase in wealth and to enjoy, under the favour of Caesar and Augustus, the legal and religious privileges which they valued. During this period anarchy in Palestine had given place to the rule of Herod, and the Jews of

[1] Father Vincent (p. 270 f.) rejects as not being in accordance with Jewish Law, M. Reinach's assumption that no one who had been a slave could be head of a synagogue in Palestine, and that the original freedman must therefore have been the great-grandfather of Theodotus. M. Reinach regards *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* as equivalent to Rabbi; the two are distinguished by Rabbi Marmorstein, *Q.S.*, 1921, p. 24 *sqq.*

[2] Father Vincent cites Juster, "Les Juifs dans l'empire romain," J. A. Hild, "Les Juifs à Rome . . . .," *Revue des Études Juives*, VIII (1884) and XI (1885); Lagrange, *Le Messianisme*, pp. 274 *sqq.* and 8 *sqq.*

Rome, conspicuous for religious zeal and fidelity to tradition, no doubt turned their thoughts to the restored Temple and the renewed splendour of Jerusalem.

Bearing all this in mind, we are to observe that the work of Theodotus includes, besides a synagogue, a hostel, planned on a considerable scale and with due regard to comfort, the remains of which point to the age of Herod as the date of its erection. On the other hand, the foundation which he so particularly attributes to his ancestors would seem, from the wording of the inscription, to have consisted of a synagogue only. This alteration in plan, made for the benefit of persons coming from abroad, is not without its significance.

The allusion in the inscription to the "fathers" of Theodotus does not necessarily imply that his own father Vettienus had any share in the foundation, as the expression may most naturally be understood to mean "ancestors." In Vettienus we may then see a Romanized Jew, the son of a freedman, and, if we will, Cicero's man of affairs.[1]

If we allow about 70 years for two generations, and suppose the grandfather of Theodotus to have obtained his freedom about 60 B.C., we may place the date of the buildings in Jerusalem within a few years of A.D. 10. No period would be more natural for the erection of a building designed for the benefit of those strangers of Rome who came from time to time as pilgrims to Jerusalem. Further, this is just such a building as might within a few years have come to be called the Synagogue of the Libertini,[2] for though this term means "freedmen" and was not at this period applied to their descendants, the name may, as Father Vincent suggests, attest the aversion of the zealots of Jerusalem from everything that came from Rome.

[1] Father Vincent omits to notice that the Vettienus who acted for Cicero in 49 B.C. is at least as likely as not to have been of military age fifteen years before. Should we then suppose that his father and he were both taken captive to Rome by Pompey?

[2] Acts vi, 9. The reading Λιβερτίνων has been doubted, and Λιβυστίνων (Libyans) proposed; see *Encycl. Bibl.*, *s.v.* Libertines; which see also as to their grouping with the Cyrenians and Alexandrians mentioned in Father Vincent's note, p. 258 *sq.* In Acts ii, 10, the "dwellers in Egypt and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene" are mentioned next before the "strangers of Rome."

II.

Remains of an Ancient Synagogue at Yafa in Galilee.

The village of Yafa, standing on two ridges of a hill about three kilometres S.W. of Nazareth, and enjoying an abundant supply of water, has long been probably supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Japhia of Zebulun,[1] the Japha which Josephus fortified, and which the army of Vespasian took by storm.[2]

Nothing else is known of its history, and apart from its many cisterns and two great rock-hewn caves, only traces of levelled walls remained to suggest buildings of any architectural importance.

Undeterred by the poverty of the site, the Abbé J. Guerrier recently undertook an examination of the village; the results of his researches are published, from his notes and sketches, by Father Vincent in the July number of the *Revue Biblique*.[3]

Three humble chapels, belonging to the small communities—Latin, Greek Catholic and Orthodox—which are represented in the village, all contain some remains of ancient architecture.

Two graceful columns, of some 50 cm. mean diameter, stand, shorn of their capitals, one on either side of the porch of the Latin Church, a pale reflection of the symbols which commonly adorn the ancient sanctuaries of the country. Lying in front of the Greek Orthodox chapel, at one time perhaps intended to be set up in its courtyard, are a base, column and capital, which Father Vincent describes as pseudo-Corinthian. The base,[4] which is somewhat damaged, is set on a plinth of debased form, and is 75 cm. in diameter; the lower diameter of the column is 53 cm. The acanthus-leaf capital is described as of somewhat fantastic composition.

One of the side windows of the Greek Catholic chapel is surmounted by a pleasing lintel,[5] which its decoration shows to have come from a synagogue. Within a moulded frame of a form (*à crossettes*) much favoured by the sculptors of Galilean synagogues,

[1] Joshua xix, 12.

[2] Josephus Wars, II, xx, 6; III, vii, 31.

[3] *R.B.*, 1921, p. 434.

[4] *R.B.*, ibid., p. 435, fig. 1. Father Vincent compares a plinth from Umm el-'Amed (Kohl and Watzinger, *Ant. Synagogen*, fig. 146 f.).

[5] *R.B.*, p. 436, fig. 2. The candlestick is in *mezzo-rilievo*, the rosettes in *intaglio*. See Kohl and Watzinger, *op. cit.*, figs. 114 f., 163 f., 174 and 180 for examples of the moulding, figs. 195 and 196 for the candlestick.

appears the characteristic motive of the seven-branched candlestick carved in relief between two rosettes.

Among some ruined buildings not far away another lintel[1] was found, which had been used as a door-post in a rubble wall. This also Father Vincent believes to be of Jewish origin, though it may at first sight not appear to be so. The sculpture is framed in a guilloche moulding, which it was apparently intended to continue along two vertical bands, dividing the surface into three panels of equal size; only one of these bands, however, appears to have been executed.

The centre is filled by a wreath tied with large fillets. In the spaces on either side are two eagles with wings spread, facing the spectator but turning their heads inwards, and each holding a small wreath in its beak. Though the carving is clumsy and of little merit, the appearance of the whole is not ineffective, and its connexion with other pieces of sculpture in Galilean synagogues gives it, in Father Vincent's opinion, a real archaeological interest. He gives instances which afford parallels to each one of the elements of this piece of sculpture—the guilloche band enclosing the lintel, the loosely knotted wreath, the clumsy eagles.[2]

The fact that these two lintels have been found in association with other members—columns, bases and capitals, all of local limestone—points to the conclusion that Yafa possessed a synagogue of the same style and period as those which have long been known in the neighbourhood.

Towards the end of the second century, when the house of Severus was liberally endowing the Jewish communities, Yafa would have regained sufficient importance, after its partial destruction under Vespasian, to build a synagogue. To find the exact site of this synagogue will require further excavation—to the Abbé Guerrier belongs the credit of having rescued it from oblivion.

III.

In the same number of the *Revue Biblique*[3] Father Vincent gives some account of the preliminary excavations which the Jewish Society for Palestine Exploration under Dr. Nahoum Slousch, has

[1] *R.B.*, ibid., Pl. VIII, 1, and p. 437, fig. 3.

[2] Citing Kohl and Watzinger, *op. cit.*, figs. 10, 11, 13, 140 f. and 143 for the guilloche, 11, 25, 100, 140, 195 f. for the wreath, and 17 f., 210, 229, 258 for the eagles.

[3] *R.B.*, 1921, p. 438.

carried out at El Hammam near Tiberias, and which were the subject of lectures delivered by Dr. Slousch before the Jewish Archaeological Society and the Palestine Oriental Society.

The excavators were fortunate in that their first trial trenches revealed unmistakable traces of an ancient synagogue of the type of that at Capernaum. This building, which lies north and south, has walls of good masonry, with interior rows of columns and a well-paved floor.

Among a number of less characteristic fragments were found a small Corinthian capital of white marble, with a seven-branched candlestick in place of a palmette under the abacus, and a marble plaque adorned with the symbolic candlestick and trumpet. Dr. Slousch has, therefore, good reason to believe that he has discovered the site of the famous synagogue of Hamatha.

The excavations present further features of interest, for, as well as these typically Jewish remains, have been found others no less evidently Christian—such as a capital with a cross in place of the candlestick. Moreover, certain finds of a more imposing character, such as the fragments of a large Corinthian capital of careful workmanship, the discovery of mosaic pavements lying one above another, and the disposition of the few walls that have been traced, all serve to indicate that the buildings have been several times remodelled for very various purposes.

Father Vincent recalls in this connexion the vicissitudes of one of the principal buildings of Tiberias, the Hadrianeum. For some time after the foundation of the city, about A.D. 20, Tiberias, in spite of the number of its gentile inhabitants, possessed no pagan shrines, but upon the visit of Hadrian to Palestine an imposing temple was founded in his honour. It was, however, not completed, and remained in an unfinished state till the beginning of the fourth century, when a scheme was set on foot for adapting it to the purpose of erecting Baths. This project was interrupted by the activity of the Count Joseph, a Jewish dignitary of Tiberias newly converted to Christianity, to whom Constantine had entrusted full powers to erect churches in such centres of uncompromising Judaism as Tiberias, Diocaesaraea, Nazareth and Capernaum. In spite of strenuous opposition he contrived to appropriate part of the temple to the erection of a small church.[1]

[1] Father Vincent's authority is Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, 30, 4 *sqq.* (*P.G.*, XLI, 409 *sqq.*). See Schürer, *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes*, I^4, p. 433; II, p. 216 *sqq.*

Father Vincent thinks it not impossible that the synagogue of which Dr. Slousch has found unmistakable traces may have replaced, at a later stage, the church of Constantine's age. He suggests that to the Roman building of the second century may belong one or other of the mosaic pavements, the members of a large Corinthian order, and the remains of a wall built of basalt blocks without mortar in regular courses 50 to 65 cm. high on a massive substructure. A fairly elaborate system of water-supply, of which the technical details have not yet been furnished, recalls the Baths which were projected in the fourth century.

In addition to solving the problems which his excavations have already raised, Dr. Slousch appears to have close at hand the opportunity of throwing light on the necropoles of Tiberias, dating from its foundation till the Middle Ages. A preliminary search has revealed a number of burial-places and yielded a large sarcophagus bearing Jewish emblems and a Greek inscription:—

. . . τοῦ Ἰσιδώρου Βουλευτοῦ ζήσαντος ἔτη . . .

IV.

The Jewish Sanctuary of 'Ain Duk.

The Mosaic at 'Ain Duk, laid bare by a Turkish shell and subsequently investigated by Fathers Lagrange and Vincent, has already been the subject of articles in the *Revue Biblique* and the *Quarterly Statement*.[1] In a further brief note[2] Father Vincent now informs us of the result of the work carried on between March 31st and April 20th, 1921, by Fathers Carrière and Savignac, of the French School of Archaeology, with the assistance of Brother Salamin.

The preliminary examination revealed to the excavators that it was not a question of uncovering merely 40 or 50 square metres of mosaic, but that they were among the ruins of a building of very considerable size, among which havoc had been caused by systematic destruction, and partly, too, by later building operations.

Three hundred and fifty square metres had actually to be laid bare, with all the minute precautions which the uncovering of a

[1] *R.B.*, 1919, p. 532; *Q.S.*, 1920, April, p. 83, and July, p. 139.
[2] *R.B.*, July, 1921, p. 442, and Pl. VIII, 2.

much damaged mosaic entails; and, in addition, an area of double that extent was investigated by means of trial trenches.

Father Vincent tabulates the results as follows:—

1st. The discovery of a number of buildings grouped together, including a Jewish synagogue and several annexes. In spite of wilful destruction the ground plan has been almost entirely recovered. The building appears to date from the third century of our era: it is the first of its kind known in Palestine, and there are indications that the synagogue inspired an uncommon degree of veneration.

2ndly. A complementary study of the inscription upon the fragment of mosaic already made known by accident.

3rdly. The discovery of several Jewish votive inscriptions and of a great cycle of pictorial mosaics adorning the floor of the nave of the synagogue (sacred Israelite emblems, Daniel in the lions' den, a zodiac of which the signs are represented by figures and described by inscriptions, a great ornamental composition grouping vegetable patterns with animal or fantastic motives) and, in the side aisles and annexes, mosaics of various geometrical designs. Almost all these subjects have suffered from vandalism, but the smallest traces have been drawn and photographed in detail, and it is possible to reconstruct as a whole this composition, which is of remarkable interest for the history both of Palestinian art and of the aesthetic and religious conceptions among the Jews in the early centuries of our era.

Father Vincent promises more ample information in due course. Meanwhile he publishes the figure of a Season from a corner of the Zodiac mosaic in the Synagogue. [The portion in the photograph contains the word תקופה, "cycle, solstice"; and, within the circumference of a circle, דגים, Pisces, and טלה, agnus, *i.e.*, Aries.—Ed.]

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

A new Corpus Inscriptionum.

A COLLECTION and interpretation of Jewish-Palestinian inscriptions found on ossuaries, tombs and remnants of Synagogues is sure of a welcome from all interested in Hebrew and Greek Epigraphy. Dr. Samuel Klein has undertaken this task in his pamphlet entitled: *Jüdisch-Palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (*Ossuar, Grab, und Synagogen Inschriften*), 1920 (Löwit, Vienna and Berlin, pp. vi + 98). The Corpus contains 179 inscriptions from ossuaries and tombs, and 16 from ruins of Synagogues. Most of the former contain merely names, which are, however, of the utmost importance for every student of Jewish history and Rabbinic literature. The latter have longer texts, and offer valuable information as to the history of the Synagogue. The author has collected and arranged the discoveries of the last fifty years; he has completed the work of Chwolson, Clermont-Ganneau, Euting and Lidzbarski. Apart from the learned remarks of D. Dalman and Immanuel Löw, whose notes and contributions adorn the work, the author himself has done a good deal in his comments upon the epigraphic material.

A few remarks, some of a general, some of a more detailed character, will show the value of the Corpus and may interest readers of the *Quarterly Statement*. P. 4 Klein refers to the palm-branches on the inscriptions.[1] All of them were found in Jaffa. No explanation is given. We venture to suggest that the לולב (*lulab*), the branch of the palm-tree was a sign of *justification*. We read in the Midrash on the Psalms (ed. Buber), p. 128 מה טעם נעימות בימינך נצח? במי שהוא נוטל לולב בימין ונוצח ובאין. "What is the meaning of the verse: 'In thy right hand bliss for ever more!' (Ps. xvii, 11). This refers to him who takes the Lulab in his right hand, just like the victorious athletes take the palm-tree as a sign of their victory, so the victorious (Jew) carries the Lulab" (see also Leviticus rabba, 30, 2, Pesikta ed. Buber 180*a*). The Lulab is therefore a proof that the deceased was found worthy or innocent in judgment. We know further the place held by the

[1] See also p. 45, no. 126; p. 48, no. 136, 137; p. 49, no. 143, 145; p. 50, no. 151, 152; p. 51, no. 155.

Lulab in popular belief[1], so that there is nothing extraordinary to find the Lulab on tombstones. On the same page Klein informs us that the Talmudic period knew of tombstones. We have here to refer to Matth. xxiii, 27, to M. *Erubin* V. 1, 6, Moed Katan 5a and the passages given by Dalman on p. 89.

P. 10 the author assumes that father and son never used the same name. It has escaped him that already S. J. Rapoport[2] has proved the reverse from a dozen passages. The custom of naming children after their grand-father is familiar, see Jubilees xi, 15; *M.G.W.J.*, 1887, p. 61, VI; Büchler, *Der gal. Amhaarez*, p. 281. The same custom with the Greeks, see Dietrich, *Mutter-erde*, 2nd ed., p. 121.

P. 12, note 9, Klein states that the priest generally married from priestly families. The same is to be found in Egypt.[3] Among Jews, however, it was not a rule, as the following passages show: (1) Meckilta of R. Simon ben Jochai (ed. Hoffmann, p. 92), Jonadab שהשיא בנותיו לכהנים, his daughters married priests, and High-Priests descended from them; (2) *Lam. r.* 1, 49, the captive son and daughter of the last High-Priests complain of being forced to marry slaves, but not of non-priestly descendants; (3) *Gen. r.* 70, 5, the daughters of Asher were married to priests; (4) *Num. r.* 1, 3; *Tanhuma Num.* ed. Buber, p. 5, every chaste woman, even if her father was a proselyte, is fit to be married to High-Priests. These instances can be multiplied.

P. 30, חבל on the inscriptions reminds of the phrase: חבל על דאבדין, woe for those, who perished, see my remarks *Expositor* 1920, Sept., p. 207, note 2. The word is familiar in Palmyrene inscriptions.[4]

[1] See Krauss, *Realencyclopedie*, I, p. 670 and *Zeitsch. des Vereines für Volkskunde* XIX, p. 429, Der Donnerbesen in Natur, Kunst und Volksglaube.

[2] See Rapoport (*Kherem Hemed* IV. 2, *Letters* p. 14), Chajès (*Centenario f. Amari* I, p. 236), Vogelstein and Rieger (*Geschichte der Juden in Rom.* I, 68, 4-6), and various other students (see האסוף III, p. 330, כנסת הגדולה IV, 161).

[3] See Ulrich Wilcken, *Archiv f. Papyr, fo.* 10.

[4] P. 38 as to the custom to write the word חזק on incriptions or poems, see כרם חמד VI. 34; Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 369, based on the *Baraitha:* ד' צריכין חיזוק Four need strengthening (or encouragement), students of the Torah, performers of good deeds, deliverers of prayers and professionals (*Bab. Ber.* 32*b*; *Jalkut Joshua*, § 5).

P. 46, no. 129 *και μητης Νοννα* reminds me of the custom known under the name of *mater certa* (see Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, pp. 9 and 10, Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 76, N. 1).

P. 69 *sqq.* deals with the inscription of Ain Duk; see *Quarterly Statement*, 1920, pp. 82 *sqq.*, 138 *sqq.* But the correction: לה יאחדון חלקהון in the line before the last, likewise the translation of the words: "They will have a share in this place," as well as the identification of Benjamin, the Parnass, "with the pious Benjamin" of the Talmud (*Bab. Baba Bathra*, 11a), cannot be accepted for various reasons. The reading is clearly חוקהון. Benjamin is named the *pious*, never the *Parnass*. Klein would be inclined to date the inscription about the middle of the Second Century. The surname הפרנס favours M. Clermont-Ganneau's date. In a time, when every village had a Parnass, such a title would be quite out of place.

The author has sent me some remarks in connection with my notes in *Quarterly Statement* 1920, 139-141; 1921, 23-28. He accepts my interpretation of the word מקמה. He writes: "your suggestion in l. 9 ן[יתו]היא, and on p. 142 Prof. Torrey's ן[להו]א[דה] induced me to investigate the text again, and I think I found the correct text. The Synagogue inscription from Kefr Kenna is very similar to our inscription, cf. דיכר לטב and דיעבדון, which appears in our inscription in a more elaborated form. At the end, we read there תהי להון ברכתה אמן (see also no. 5, where this line is added merely as a suggestion); no. 7 תאה[-תהא] לה ברכתה. Based on these parallels we may read l. 9 of the Ain Duk inscription as follows: [י]הֱוֵא [לה]ון חוקהון The חוקהין must mean the same as ברכתה in the previous inscriptions, either in the Biblical sense of חֹק (Gen. xlvii, 22, Prov. xxx, 8), or with ז as חזק, and be translated: 'They may be strong!' The latter is the most likely." [But the inscription has undoubtedly חוקהון, as I have already mentioned.]

The Theodotos inscription is dealt with in "the Supplement." Dr. Klein does not agree with my identification of Θεοδοτος with בתירא, which I threw out as a suggestion; see now *Jour. Asiatique*, 1920, p. 356, where M. Liber sees in Theodotos the well-known Jonathan ben Uzziel, certainly with less support, because a Synagogue of ben Uzziel is nowhere mentioned. Klein would rather think of the אטינוס, to whom I refer, but he was a Babylonian!

A very full index of names, places, etc., are added to this valuable collection. I gather that a Supplement will appear in a few weeks.

12*th April*, 1921. A. MARMORSTEIN.

The Pilgrim in Jerusalem. By the Rev. O. H. Parry, M.A. London: S.P.C.K., 1920, 10*s.* net.

This is an unusually attractive guide-book especially suited to those whose interest in Jerusalem is mainly that of the "pilgrim." There is little or nothing bearing upon politics, commerce, language or even purely secular history, but it probably gives as much information as the ordinary tourist will read. The author has made good use of the most modern views on topography and is well up in those of tradition. His illustrations from original sketches are of unusual excellence, in this respect far beyond those of any other guide-book to the land.

E. W. G. M.

Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature: an Anthology. Vol. I: Texts, notes and glossary. Vol. II: Translations. By B. Halper, M.A., Ph.D. Philadelphia, U.S.A. $2.50 and $2.00

Dr. Harper, of Dropsie College, Philadelphia, publishes through the Jewish Publication Society, two volumes illustrating the best Hebrew literature outside the Old Testament. The utility of such a work hardly needs emphasizing. As he says: "When the centre of Jewish literary activity was transferred to Arabic-speaking countries, the Hebrew language still continued to be employed by a good many of the writers. Books intended for the edification of the people at large, were, it is true, written in the vernacular, but the literary productions were composed in Hebrew. Grammars, dictionaries and philosophical works which were intended for the general public had therefore to be expressed in the language spoken by the people, but Hebrew was employed for the literary compositions, secular and liturgic poems. Thus Saadia, Ibn Gebirol, and Judah ha-Levi wrote their philosophical works in Arabic, but their poems and hymns were invariably in Hebrew." This work is published in two volumes: one contains Hebrew texts, notes and glossary, and the second comprises the English translation. The plan of the work is designed to acquaint students and the general

reader with the growth and development of post-biblical Hebrew literature. The extracts are arranged chronologically, and are prefaced by brief introductions giving the salient facts about the authors and their works. It is thus a history of Hebrew literature by examples.

Practically all branches of literature have been represented, and the volumes afford a very excellent idea of Hebrew liturgy, philosophy, ethics, geography, folk-lore, travel, etc. Dr. Halper has had in view the needs of different types of reader, and gives all possible assistance to the student of Hebrew for whose sake the glossary of uncommon words has been prepared, the critical notes, too, though few, are to the point. It may be mentioned that in the volume containing the Hebrew texts, most of the selections are vocalized, a fact which will be appreciated by the beginner. In the volume containing the translations the author has been at pains to be accurate and pleasing, and he gives informing notes upon authors, sources, classes of literature, biblical and other references.

We start with the wisdom of Ben Sira and end with the poet and educationalist Wessely, the father of the modern Hebrew renaissance. All the great names are here, and the volumes are eminently calculated to give the reader an insight into literature which has never lost its power to stimulate and inspire. Dr. Halper's publication may be warmly commended, and not alone to readers interested in Hebrew language and thought.

S. A. Cook.

The late Baron Ustinow of Christiania, for many years a resident of Jaffa, left a valuable collection of antiquities which are described by F. Poulsen in *Videnskapsselskapets Skriften*, ii. Hist. klasse, iii, 3–28 (29 figs.). They include a primitive bronze statuette of Syrian origin, X–VIIIth century B.C. (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 1921, p. 163).

Gen. xiv, with the story of Amraphel, Chedorlaomer, and the other kings who were defeated by Abram, has long been a battle-ground of criticism. The general tendency of criticism has been to reject it as an historical record of the age to which it purports to belong. With the increase of new archaeological material, repeated efforts have been made to substantiate its authenticity, and the Dutch Professor F. M. Böhl has recently argued that all the

characters in Gen. xiv lived in the XIIIth century B.C., and that Abram, in fact, belongs to this age rather than to the time of Hammurabi (*Zeits. f. Alttest. Wissens.*, XXXVI, 1916, pp. 65–73). Prof. A. Jeremias, also, independently, in a study of the so-called "Chedorlaomer Texts" of the British Museum, holds that they date from the XIIth century on account of their inclusion of the name Tidal, king of Nations (*i.e.*, Tudkhal, the sixth of the great Hittite kings), the "nations" being the Umanmanda or Indo-Europeans. On the other hand, he considers that, as apart from their present contents, the texts relate to an ancient invasion of Babylonia by the Elamite Kudur-Nakhunte (*Mitt. Vorderasiat. Ges.*, XXI, 1916, pp. 69–97—cited by the *American Journal of Archaeology*).

A. Kohn (*Mittheil. Anthropol. Gesell.*, XXXIV, 1914, pp. 81–135, 24 figs.) gives a comprehensive survey of Palestinian culture from the eolithic to the iron age, with descriptions of pottery, graves, implements, etc., and a chart illustrating the relations of Palestinian civilisation and that of the Levant. He argues that the land had never any originality, but was throughout subject to successive waves of foreign influence. (From the *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXV, 1921, p. 168.)

Among the varied results of renewed interest in Jerusalem may be noticed two notes on the ancient period. Jirku (*Zeit. d. Deutschen Pal. Ver.* XLIII, 1920, pp. 58–61), from an examination of the Amarna Tablets containing *inter alia* the letters of Abd-Khiba, the king of Jerusalem, to the Egyptian Court, concludes that the city had for some time been occupied by Hittites. He points out that the name of the king is compounded with that of a Hittite goddess (Khiba), and that the phrase "land of the city of" is said to be characteristic of the tablets found at the great city of Boghaz Kheui in Asia Minor. Prof. Sayce (*Expository Times*, August) deals more generally with the site of ancient Jerusalem, and argues that the form of the name Uru-Salim, "the city of Salim," as it is written in the Amarna Letters, shows it to be of Babylonian origin. The city commanded the road from the coastal military road to the naphtha wells of Siddim at the south end of the Dead Sea—the naphtha was used for lighting and heating and for making mortar. This military road—the *metiq ammati*—is the *metheq hā-ammah* of 2 Sam. viii, 1, which David took out of the hands of the Philistines.

Beth-Ninib, mentioned by Abd-Khiba, was in proximity to Jerusalem, and its name means House of Ninib, *i.e.*, Nin-Urta, "lord of Urta." Now Urta in Hebrew would appear as *y-r-h*, and Prof. Sayce thus finds the origin of *yireh* in Gen. xxii, 14 (Jehovah Jireh). Beth-Urta was evidently a sanctuary outside Salem or Uru-Salim (the Temple Hill), and the latter name was later extended to the citadel of Zion, which served as a defence, and became the city of David. The fact that Solomon's temple was built on the site of Araunah's threshing-floor points to Urta being originally outside Salem; and Prof. Sayce states that the name of Araunah is the Hittite *arauanis*, "nobleman"; he was the king or chief of the Hittite Jebusites of Salem.

Biblica: Commentarii editi a Pontificio Instituto Biblico, is a new periodical published at Rome (Piazza della Pilotta, 35), and now nearing the close of its second year. Some idea of its range may be gained from the following selection of its contents. Vol. I, reviews of J. Vandervost, *Israel et l'Ancient Orient*, and of Burney, *Book of Judges*, by A. Fernandez (in Spanish); Note papirologiche, by S. C. Mercati; le Voyage de Saül à la recherche des ânesses de son père, by L. Heidet; Vol. II, the chronology of Three and Four Kings and Two Paralipomenon, by A. Kleher; Vasicinium messianum, by F. Zorell; le symbolisme du Sacrifice expiatoire en Israel, by A. Médebielle; El "Israel de las Promesas" o Judaismo y Gentilismo en la concepción Paulina del Evangelo, by L. Murillo; A note on the Mishna: Passover vii, 9, by C. Lattey, etc., etc. Special attention may be called to the regular *Elenchus bibliographicus*, and in particular the useful *Chronique palestinienne*, by A. Mallon. This journal contains, as will be seen, a good variety of topics (we have passed over those of purely theological significance), which will commend it to readers of many different interests. With articles and reviews in six languages, it is also a discipline if one is to get the most profit out of it!

Another new journal is that of the *Palestine Oriental Society* (Jerusalem, Oct., 1920, and onwards). This Society held its preliminary meeting in January, 1920, and an early start was made in issuing a periodical. The first issue contains reports of meetings and a series of interesting papers, philological, archaeological, and exegetic. N. Slousch writes on the Jewish inscription

at Ain Duk, and Dr. Peters points out how often the Psalms reflect a local colouring which has escaped the attention of the commentators who have no personal knowledge of Palestine. Thus, if we consider Ps. lxxxix, 12: "north and south Thou hast created them. Tabor and Hermon rejoice in Thy name." Where could this emanate if not from a temple of Dan? In Ps. lxxxiv he sees a processional hymn passing from the western hill of Jerusalem and down the lower Tyropœon valley, then round by the pool of Siloam. Altogether a most suggestive paper, A. Decloedt discusses a bronze coin of Bar Cochba, and S. Raffaeli has an interesting note upon two ancient weights; discussing the famous Chaplin weight (the quarter *n-s-ph*) he suggests that the correct reading is *k-s-ph* ("silver"), and that it was a distinct kind of weight. Prof. Clay on the "Amorite name Jerusalem," urges the Amorite origin of Palestinian culture, and explains the first part of Jerusalem (Uru) as the name of an Amorite god Uru, Awuru or Amuru. Referring to the proximity of Beth-Ninib, or Beth Urta, he suggests that Uru and Urtu were the chief deities of the locality, and that Ariel, or Uriel, with the meaning, "Uru is god," was appropriately substituted by Isaiah for the name Jerusalem in his address to the city which doubtless had continued to worship that god.

Parts 2–3 are equally acute and suggestive. Prof. Albright writes at some length, proposing a revision of early Hebrew chronology. Here we find Gen. xiv ascribed to the XVIIth century B.C., the invasion of Chedorlaomer being dated at about 1675; the whole article is an interesting example of the effort to combine external archaeological and other evidence with the Old Testament, and this is not the place to venture upon any criticism of these and other efforts which students of the Old Testament will naturally view with reserve. A. Z. Idelson writes well on Hebrew music with special reference to the musical intonations in the recital of the Pentateuch; E. T. H. Mackay and F.-M. Abel write on a megalithic building at Bet Sawir, and on the house of Abraham at Hebron respectively. E. N. Haddad discusses blood revenge among the Arabs; C. C. McCown writes on Solomon and the Shulamite, and D. Yellin on the use of ellipse in "Second Isaiah," and J. P. Peters continues his "Notes of Locality in the Psalter." E. ben Yehudah finds traces of the Edomite language in Proverbs xxx, 1—xxxi, 9, and S. Raffaeli describes a curious Samaritan and Greek Charm in his possession. S. A. C.